University Of Alberta

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN TWO ALBERTA HIGH SCHOOLS

BY

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Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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in

COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

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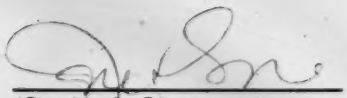

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ABSTRACT

In the present investigation sexual harassment among students in two Alberta high schools was studied. The study is presented in three papers; (1) a review of sexual harassment pertinent to school practice and policy, (2) descriptive statistics reflecting sexual harassment in the high school, and (3) the results of an experimentally designed questionnaire used to measure students' perception of student-to-student sexual harassment.

The opening paper serves as an introduction to sexual harassment issues in the high school. Defining qualities of sexual harassment and ongoing debates are reviewed. Recent surveys of students show that sexually harassing behaviours are prevalent among teenagers. Most often students are subjected to low-level harassment including gestures, jokes and verbal remarks, but incidents of intrusive and forced sexual behaviour have also been reported. Both male and female students have reported experience with sexual harassment, and student-to-student forms are most common.

In the second study the results of a high school survey are reported and discussed. Of the 589 students polled, 17% indicated that they had experienced school-based sexual harassment. In all, 25% of the girls and 10% of the boys surveyed said they had been sexually harassed at school. Males who said they had been sexually harassed were most likely to believe that those who are targeted by sexual harassment usually deserve it.

In the third paper, how students make judgements concerning incidents of possible student-to-student sexual harassment were explored. Students were

presented with brief social scenarios that represented all possible combinations of three target variables: (1) six types of sexually harassing behaviours, (2) the gender composition of the dyad, and (3) grade status of the student initiator. Students tended to find situations more inappropriate when the behaviour was sexually intrusive and when the initiator was male and the target was female. Females were less accepting of the behaviours described. Males tended to be more accepting when they themselves had been targets of sexual harassment, and their response patterns tended to reflect a degree of self-blame and guilt regarding their experience.

In appreciation of my family.

For

Shirley, Christopher and Brian

For their unconditional love in the here and now,

And for,

My parents, Georgia and William

For their unconditional love from far and beyond.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background to the Research

Over the last few decades our global society has experienced radical changes, and as a result our beliefs about 'appropriate behaviour' have been significantly altered (Falikowski, 1997). Behaviours once considered 'understandable' today are being challenged and outlawed. Sexual harassment is such behaviour.

Sexual harassment involves unsolicited and unreciprocated sexual attention or sexual behaviour (Bogart & Stein, 1987). The term "sexual harassment" encompasses a continuum of behaviours which range from mild to severe (Fizgerald & Hesson-McInnis, 1989; Padgitt & Padgitt, 1986; Till, 1980). Behaviours captured under the umbrella of sexual harassment include subtle forms like comments, gestures and jokes, but range to the more overt and aggressive acts of sexual bribery and assault (Conte, 1997; O'Donohue, 1997). High frequency, low levels of sexual harassment and single episodes of the aggressive forms can lead to significant psychological distress and/or trauma. Concentration, self concept, attention and mood can be significantly reduced by sexual harassment (Curcio, Berlin, & First, 1996; Curcio & Masters, 1993, Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997), effects which no doubt can disrupt a student's ability to learn (Roscoe, Strouse, & Goodwin, 1994).

Initially psychological research on sexual harassment focused on women in

the workplace (Farely, 1978; Maypole & Skaine, 1983; Tangri, Burt, & Johnson, 1982; Till, 1980). As the women's feelings of embarrassment, intimidation and degradation were illuminated, investigators began to recognize that sexual harassment also plagues university and college campuses (Adams, Kottke & Padgit, 1983; Reilly, Carpenter, Dull, & Bartlett, 1982; Weber-Burdin & Rossi, 1982; Wilson & Kraus, 1983). In 1983 the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) released the results of a national survey of over two thousand Canadian men and women. Results showed that 30% of the female respondents and 12% of the male respondents reported experiencing unwanted sexual attention at some point during their adult life. But sexual harassment is not confined to the realms of the adult world, nor is it a phenomenon married to one period of social, psychological or sexual development; through legal actions, research, student surveys and personal testimonials, we have come to recognize that sexual harassment affects students in high schools, and some suspect that these behaviours have their roots at even lower levels of our educational system.

In 1993, the American Association of University Women (AAUW) released survey results concerning sexual harassment in the schools. Their findings showed that 85% of female, and 76% of male participants (students in grades eight through eleven) had experienced sexually harassing behaviours. In 1988, Strauss questioned high school students between the ages of 16 and 18 years and found that 22% of the boys and 61% of the girls felt that sexual harassment was a problem in their school. Of the 133 female students questioned, nearly half reported that they had personally experienced sexual harassment at school.

Similar results have been found by other researchers (e.g., Adams, Kottke, & Padgitt, 1983; Wilson & Kraus, 1983; Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF), 1994).

While these studies clearly show that sexual harassment is an issue affecting adolescents in high school, many questions remain unanswered. To date, the majority of research has been conducted within the American school system, and it is questionable if results can be generalized to Canadian populations. The majority of information currently available on sexual harassment in high schools tends to focus on teacher-to-student sexual harassment, and the bias has been to address predominantly male-to-female interactions. Sexual harassment among peers is just now being recognized, and is the most recent form of sexual harassment to be acknowledged by the courts. We know from teen magazines (Stein, 1995) and recent school surveys that student-to-student sexual harassment is a major issue among teenagers, and may be the leading form of sexual harassment in high schools today (AAUW, 1993; OSSTF, 1994). The current investigation was initiated with the goal of expanding our knowledge of sexual harassment as it occurs in two Alberta high schools.

Overview of the Study

This investigation of sexual harassment in two Alberta high schools was conducted as three separate parts, each addressing one aspect of the research area. Each part stands alone, and is presented in a paper format intended for submission for professional publication. Ethics approval was granted by the Department of Educational Psychology's Research and Ethics Committee (see Appendix A). The first study was designed to present an overview of existing literature pertinent to sexual harassment in the high school. The objective was to: (a) examine how sexual harassment is currently defined in terms of behavioural issues, subjective experiences and issues related to unequal power, (b) review contemporary survey results from studies conducted with high school students regarding school-based sexual harassment, (c) investigate the effect sexual harassment has on high school students, and (d) review implications for school practice and policy. The review highlights issues of ongoing debate, and makes recommendations for school boards which wish to address the issue of sexual harassment in their schools.

In the second study, results of a large survey conducted with a sample of Alberta high school students are presented. The questionnaire was designed to answer several salient questions including (a) the extent to which high school students experience sexual harassment in school, (b) if sexual harassment affects both genders and if so, to what degree, and (c) how students describe their experiences of being sexual harassed. Results are discussed in the context of past research with adolescent populations.

The purpose of the third study was to investigate the effects various factors have on the judgements male and female high school students make when presented with scenarios which represented sexual harassment initiated by students towards other students. Using a school survey with an experimental design, brief social scenarios were generated to represent all combinations of three variables; gender composition of the dyad (male to female or female to male), status of the student-initiator (same grade or different grade) and type of behaviour (six levels of various severity). Results of a five-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) are presented and discussed in the context of previous research.

As mentioned, each paper was written with the intent of dissemination through professional journals. To date, a modified version of the first paper has appeared in the Alberta Counsellor (Browne, 1998), and results from the second study were presented in poster format at the Canadian Psychological Association's annual convention, held in Edmonton, Alberta in June of 1998. The second and third papers are currently being submitted for publication in professional refereed journals: Paper two has been submitted to the Journal of Educational Psychology, and paper number three has been submitted to Adolescence.

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Chapter 2

Sexual Harassment in the High School: Implications for Practice and Policy

Introduction

The behaviours captured under the umbrella of sexual harassment are not new; they have long been accepted as part of our cultural norm. Perhaps due to the women's movement and our growing appreciation of individual rights and freedoms, sexual harassment is now being labelled and discussed. Behaviours once considered comprehensible or dismissed as just "boys being boys" are now being challenged and outlawed. Sexual harassment is not about hormones or horseplay (Shoop & Edwards, 1994); it is best conceptualized as another form of aggression which has come to reside in our offices and playgrounds.

In the following paper, the line of study that led to the identification of sexual harassment in the high school is presented and discussed. As research has suggested, principals and teachers are not only sexually harassing each other, students are harassing their classmates, and at times even their instructors (American Association of University Women [AAUW], 1993; Curcio, Berlin, & First, 1996; Shoop & Edwards, 1994; Shoop & Hayhow, 1994; Wishnietsky, 1994). School is the workplace of our students (Gregory, 1993; Rutter, 1996), and as such it is becoming exceedingly important that students, teachers and administrators understand which behaviours constitute sexual harassment, how these actions effect high school students and how such

conduct might be prevented in the school environment.

Background

Sexual harassment is an issue "that has a long past but a short history" (O'Donohue, 1997, p. 1). Although it refers to behaviours that have been in practice for centuries, the term sexual harassment was not officially adopted in to the English language until 1975 (Farley, 1978; McCaghy, 1985; Wishnietsky, 1994). Through social acceptance, sexually harassing behaviours have proliferated throughout our society and have come to reside in our streets, work and classrooms. There has been a tendency in our culture to accept many behaviours which promote the ridicule and abuse of individuals as "normal" for both children and adults (Curcio et al., 1996), but that tradition is changing.

In the 1970s, sexual harassment was deemed to be an illegal, discriminatory behaviour under United States' law, violating Title VII of the Equal Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. A Canadian Human Rights Tribunal came to a similar conclusion in 1980, and sexual harassment was formally recognized as sexual discrimination by the Supreme Court of Canada in the precedent setting ruling of Janzen and Govereau v. Platy Enterprises in 1989. Initially, research on sexual harassment focused on women in the workplace (e.g., Backhouse & Cohen, 1978; Farley, 1978; MacKinnon, 1979; Maypole & Skaine, 1983; Tangri, Burt, & Johnson, 1982; Till, 1980). As women's feelings of embarrassment, intimidation and degradation were illuminated in the workplace and recognized in the courts, investigators began to realize that sexual harassment occurs in other forums. In

1981, the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) conducted a nation wide survey of over two thousand men and women. Findings of that survey, published in 1983, indicated that 30% of the female and 12% of the male respondents reported that they had experienced unwanted sexual attention. Other surveys have found similar results (Adams, Kottke, & Padgitt, 1983; Wilson & Kraus, 1983), and together, support the conclusion that sexual harassment impacts both men and women in our society.

The study of sexual harassment expanded to investigate school-based incidents, beginning at the university and college levels and more recently broadening to encompass the high school system. In 1988, Strauss questioned high school students between 16 and 18 years of age. Results showed that 61% of the girls and 22% of the boys felt that sexual harassment was a problem in their school. Of the 133 female students polled, nearly half reported that they had personally experienced school-based sexual harassment. In 1993, the American Association of University Women (AAUW) released the results of a larger high school survey, where 85% of female and 76% of male participants indicated experience with sexual harassment at school. Although teacher-student sexual harassment was reported, the majority of incidents involved sexual harassment between high school peers. Other studies support the conclusion that this is the most common form of sexual harassment in the high school (e.g., Shoop & Hayhow, 1994; Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF), 1994).

The definition of sexual harassment has evolved along with these research findings, and most investigators now recognize that males are also targets of

sexually harassing behaviours. Sexual harassment is primarily a perceptual issue, with individuals having his or her own conceptualization of what is sexually harassing and what is not. Understanding how sexual harassment is defined, gaining an appreciation for the kinds of power issues it involves, and review of past research on sexual harassment in the high school have become important issues in this area of study.

Defining Sexual Harassment

Defining sexual harassment is complicated, because what is considered to be sexually harassing to one person may not be to another. Furthermore, the definition of sexual harassment has significantly evolved over time as the issue has been recognized and studied in a variety of contexts. Initially, research on harassment focused on women in the workforce, where sexual harassment came to be defined as "unsolicited nonreciprocal male behaviour that asserts a woman's sex role over her function as a worker" (Farley, 1978, p. 14). Through research, contemporary authors now recognize sexual harassment in a broader context, and for the purposes of this paper, sexual harassment is defined as any unwanted, non-reciprocated sexual behaviour or sexual attention that significantly interferes with a person's ability to work and/or study.

Some issues, however, remain the subject of debate. Within the definitional complexities surrounding sexual harassment, three general issues are often considered within the literature: the behavioural component (which behaviours are classified as sexually harassing), the subjective experience of sexual harassment and issues of unequal power. These three points will serve

as the focus for this discussion concerning the definition of sexual harassment.

Behavioural issues. On the objective side, behaviours classified as sexually harassing have included jokes, touching, verbal comments, gestures, leers, display of sexually explicit materials, ogling of a person's body, spreading of sexual rumours, sexual bribery and sexual assault. Sexual harassment may involve cornering or blocking movements or the demand for sexual favours accompanied by implied or overt threats. Two main kinds of sexual harassment have been described, the quid pro quo form and the hostile environment form. The quid pro quo form of sexual harassment essentially means, "you do something for me and I'll do something for you" (Shoop & Edwards, 1994). Quid pro quo sexual harassment may involve sexual bribery, where sexual "favours" are rewarded with better grades or access to special privileges or sexual coercion where removal of a privilege or the lowering of a grade may be threatened if the sexual request is refused. In these cases a single event is considered to constitute sexual harassment (Shoop & Edwards, 1994).

The hostile environment form of sexual harassment involves any intimidating or offensive sexually-oriented atmosphere (Shoop & Edwards, 1994). The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Education (1993) has stated that a hostile environment,

> is created by acts of a sexual nature that are sufficiently severe or pervasive to impair the educational benefits offered to the victim... one that is intimidating to the reasonable student and interferes with the victim's opportunities to enjoy education in the same way his or her peers enjoy it (p. 1).

Often hostile environments involve behaviours that are less intrusive than those

of quid pro quo cases, and the pattern of offensive conduct tends to be consistent over time.

In addition to being categorized into these two forms, sexually harassing behaviours are commonly conceptualized on a continuum of sexual harassment ranging from mild insults to severe, intrusive assaults. Along this continuum, Till (1980) proposed five sexual harassment categories; (a) gender harassment (sexist remarks and behaviour), (b) seductive behaviour (characterized by inappropriate and offensive sexual advances), (c) sexual bribery (propositions for sexual activity or other sex-related behaviour with the promise of reward), (d) sexual coercion (where a sexual activity is coerced with the threat of punishment) and, (e) sexual imposition (behaviours related to sexual assault and sexual intrusion). Research has suggested that the more severe and intrusive the behaviour, the more likely people are to classify that behaviour as sexual harassment (CHRC, 1983; Till, 1980).

Along with the type of behaviour experienced, the frequency of the conduct has also affected whether or not the experience is labelled as sexual harassment. Behaviours at the lower end of the continuum such as jokes or gestures may not be considered sexual harassment in isolation, however, when such conduct occurs repeatedly, a hostile environment may be formed. Thus, while the continuum of sexually harassing behaviours makes intuitive sense for cases involving a singular event, low level behaviours may actually become quite intrusive when they occur repeatedly over time.

Subjective, interpretative issues. Research shows that what may be sexually harassing to one person may not be to another (Strauss, 1988; OSSTF, 1994; Ross & Marlowe, 1985), and consequently sexual harassment is usually defined through the 'eye of the beholder' (Gregory, 1993; Strauss, 1988). As a result, in addition to behavioural descriptions, most definitions of sexual harassment also address the target's interpretive or subjective experience of the event(s). Definitions or descriptions of sexual harassment often make reference to feelings of embarrassment or intimidation on the part of the target, or specify that the behaviour was unwanted or offensive. For example, the Edmonton Public School Board (1988) has stated that

> sexual harassment is unwanted sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature which:
> (a) implicitly or explicitly makes submission to such conduct a term or condition of an individual's work or study;
> (b) affects access to services, employment or educational opportunities;
> (c) creates a hostile or offensive environment which interferes with an individual's work or study; or
> (d) intimidates, embarrasses, coerces or humiliates the victim.
> Harassment is not a relationship of mutual consent (p. 2).

Sexual harassment has also been distinguished from enjoyable interactions like flirting, teasing and joking.

> There is nothing innocent, normal or funny about harassment. Sexual harassment should not be confused with flirting which is often welcomed and reciprocated and which, in any case, the recipient is free to ignore; nor is it seduction, which the recipient can stop by not responding... sexual harassment is unwelcome sexual attention that a victim is powerless to stop, and, as such, may be better conceptualized as an act of aggression than as a sexual act (Bogart & Stein, 1987, p. 146).

High school students have drawn clear distinctions between flirtation or flattery

and sexual harassment based on their subjective experience of the different behaviours. Students have said that while flirting feels good, is a compliment, is "two way" and they like it, sexual harassment feels bad, is degrading, is "one way" and makes them feel cheap, helpless or out of control (Sandler & Paludi, 1993). To determine which incidents constitute sexual harassment and which do not, educators have encouraged students to rely on their subjective experiences as a guide (Stein & Sjostrom, 1994).

Since individual interpretations vary, sometimes significantly, sexual harassment has been defined under the law using a "reasonable person" standard. Sexual harassment is then defined according to what would be offensive to any 'reasonable person,' taking the focus off of the individual and striving for a more universal definition of sexual harassment. Some have argued for the adoption of a "reasonable woman" standard, since males and females often hold different opinions concerning what is acceptable and what is not. Working from a 'reasonable student' standard may assist schools in teaching students what constitutes sexual harassment and what does not, and may allow students to recognize when they are themselves being sexually harassed.

Power issues. The issue of unequal power has long been entwined with the definition of sexual harassment. Early cases of sexual harassment typically involved male employers harassing female employees, and despite evidence to the contrary, some individuals continue to define sexual harassment based solely on this stereotypic image. Among present-day experts, few would dissent that sexual harassment is based on issues of power and control, but the nature of

that power has remained the subject of ongoing debate.

Some authors have argued that sexual harassment is possible only within the context of formal, organizational power (e.g., MacKinnon, 1979; Wilson & Kraus, 1983). Wilson and Kraus have stated that "unequal authority is a necessary structural condition because sexual harassment can not occur in any other context" (p. 219). While cases of quid pro quo sexual harassment often involve coercion or threats from a person of authority, such authority does not appear to be necessary for this type of harassment to occur. As Shoop and Edwards (1994) indicate, incidents of student-to-teacher sexual harassment have been noted, and several of these contra-power harassment cases have involved sexual coercion and bribery. The concept that authoritarian power is a defining quality of sexual harassment has also been challenged by recent research which has indicated that sexual harassment between peers is the most frequent form of sexual harassment among high school students (AAUW, 1993; OSSTF, 1994). While formal, authoritarian power can certainly be exploited through sexually harassing behaviours, such power does not seem to be an essential component of sexual harassment.

The other major power argument revolves around the issue of male privilege. Taken to the extreme, some authors argue that males cannot be sexually harassed by a female, regardless of her formal rank or status, because the power afforded to males in our society is simply too great to exceed (e.g., Herbert, 1992). Support for this argument comes from sexual harassment statistics. The vast majority of documented cases have involved females being

sexually harassed by males, a trend that seems consistent across contexts. The gender power argument would also account for the majority of cases involving sexual harassment between peers and contra-power sexual harassment since most of these cases also involve male initiators and female targets (AAUW, 1993; Dey, Sax, Korn, & Ramirez, 1996; OSSTF, 1994; Shoop & Edwards, 1994). What this formulation fails to account for are the many cases of female-to-male sexual harassment, where females have been identified as harassing males with lower, similar and higher status to themselves (e.g., AAUW, 1993; OSSTF, 1994; Shoop & Edwards, 1994). While society is just beginning to recognize males as potential targets of sexual harassment and other forms of aggression and abuse, survey results clearly show that many men and boys believe they have experienced sexual harassment. Thus, while unequal gender power is certainly a salient issue, it alone can not account for all incidents of sexual harassment.

While formal power and the power of male privilege undeniably provide the opportunity to sexually harass in some cases, neither seems sufficient to account for all incidents of sexual harassment. What may be more important, then, is the perceptual issue of how individuals define who or what holds power over them. Other factors related to the harasser may be salient. For example, in the high school, a peer may be more popular, more attractive, older, smarter, funnier or more athletic. These qualities may afford such students higher status and subsequently may provide them with the ability to sexually harass someone who is perceived to have relatively lower status.

Regardless of the way an unequal power dynamic is formed, there is little doubt that sexual harassment serves to maintain or create that disparity. Sexual harassment, by definition, involves forcing unwanted sexual behaviours onto another person, be they verbal or physical - and thus sexual harassment may best be categorized as a form of aggressive behaviour. Sexual harassment seems to be about gaining power over another person. Some times that power is already in place and through sexual harassment it is exploited, and sometimes that power is created through hostile, humiliating and degrading behaviours. As Rutter (1996) has suggested, cases of offensive sexual conduct may result from misunderstood sexual boundaries without the issues of power and control. While miscommunications certainly occur, behaviours captured under the term sexual harassment seem qualitatively different, and persistent, unwanted offensive sexual behaviours cannot be excused by naivete in this day and age. Sexual harassment seems to be based on disrespect for another person, not misunderstanding, and sexual harassment involves a kind of personal violation, which is, at its root, aggressive.

Survey Results Concerning Sexual Harassment in High Schools

Recently, researchers in the area of sexual harassment have turned their attention to the high school environment. Several surveys involving teenage students have shown that sexual harassment is a salient school issue affecting boys as well as girls. Sexual harassment between high school peers has been identified as the most common form of school-based sexual harassment (AAUW, 1993; OSSTF, 1994). As some authors have concluded, sexual harassment has

permeated the school system, and has led to the creation of a sexually offensive and hostile educational environment (AAUW, 1993; Wishnietsky, 1994). Several school surveys warrant examination.

In 1993, the AAUW published the results of a survey that had been administered to 1632 high school students. The survey included the following definition, "sexual harassment is unwanted and unwelcome sexual behaviour which interferes with your life. Sexual harassment is not behaviours that you like or want (for example: wanted kissing, touching or flirting)" (p. 6), and a list of fourteen potentially harassing behaviours were specifically queried (half of the behaviours involved physical interaction, and half did not). Students were asked to indicate whether or not they had experienced any of these behaviours at school, at any time during their "whole school life" (p. 6).

Results of this study indicated that sexual harassment was a prominent school issue. Four out of five students (85% of the girls and 76% of the boys) said they had experienced at least one of these sexually harassing behaviours at some time during their school life. Two-thirds indicated they had experienced "sexual comments, jokes, gestures or looks", making this the most common form of sexual harassment experienced by high school students. Eleven percent endorsed the most intrusive behaviour queried, stating that they had been "forced to do something sexual other than kissing." Of those who said they had been harassed, 18% said the harassment had been initiated by an adult school employee, but the majority (79%) of cases involved sexual harassment between high school peers. Most students (58%) said they had been targets of sexual

harassment "often" or "occasionally." When asked where the sexual harassment had taken place, the three most common locations were in the hallways (66%), in the classroom (55%) and outside on school property (43%). Boys were more likely than girls to remain silent and tell no one about their experience (27% and 19% respectively).

In addition to being asked about their experience of being sexually harassed, students were asked about whether or not they had initiated sexual harassment against another person. Two-thirds of the boys (66%) and just over half of the girls (52%) said that they had been the initiators of sexual harassment. Nearly all of these students (94%) indicated that they had been targets of sexual harassment themselves. The survey included a checklist of possible reasons why someone might engage in sexual harassment, and among students who said they had been perpetrators the most commonly endorsed answer (37%) was "it's just part of school life/ a lot of people do it/ it's no big deal." Further analysis of the questionnaire results revealed that about one third of students said they had first experienced school-based sexual harassment in or before grade six; 6% said their first experience had occurred as early as grade three. Over half of the students polled said they didn't know if their school currently had a policy addressing the issue of sexual harassment.

The OSSTF conducted a similar kind of high school survey in 1994, and the results they obtained were strikingly similar to those reported by the AAUW (1993). Two hundred and sixty-four (264) high school students took part in a 30-minute workshop on sexual harassment, and then completed a survey that

inquired about their experiences of sexual harassment in the school. The following definition was provided to students,

> sexual harassment is unwanted and unwelcome sexual behaviour which interferes with your life. Sexual harassment is not behaviours that you like or want (for example, wanted kissing, touching or flirting). It includes put-downs or negative comments made about your gender. It is deliberate and/or repeated sexual or sex-based behaviour that is not welcome, not asked for and not returned (OSSTF, 1994, p. 2).

When asked if they had experienced sexual harassment at school, 70% of participants said that they had (OSSTF, 1994). Among these students, sexual comments, gestures, jokes and looks were the most common form of sexual harassment experienced (80%); being touched, grabbed, or pinched in a sexual way was the second leading form (60%). Nine percent indicated that the behaviour involved being forced to do something other than kissing. Most of cases involved student-to-student sexual harassment (66%), 12% involved school staff and 8% involved some other person (e.g., a visitor to the school or the driver of a bus). Twenty one percent (21%) of students said they were likely to keep silent about their experience of sexual harassment (15% of female students and 30% of males). When asked about formal mechanisms of reporting sexual harassment in the school, 25% of students were not aware of how to make such a complaint. With respect to their own harassing behaviours, about one third of the students (31%) said that they had sexually harassed another student at school. Similar to the AAUW study (1993), students were provided with a list of reasons stating why someone might engage in sexually harassing behaviours, and the most commonly endorsed response was "it's just part of

school life/ a lot of people do it/ it's not big deal" (41%).

In summary then, results of these surveys suggest that exposure to sexually harassing behaviour is commonplace among high school students. Low level behaviours including gestures, jokes, sexual comments and looks were most prevalent and seem to occur repeatedly. Approximately 10% of students disclosed more serious sexually harassing behaviours, stating that they had been forced to do something sexual other than kissing. Student-to-student sexual harassment was most common, and many students dismiss these behaviours as part of the school norm. Indeed, some students said that sexual harassment was present in their school life as early as grade three. Many students reported both harassing and being harassed by their high school peers. Awareness of school policy was weak, and about one fifth of students said they wouldn't tell anyone of their experience.

Effects of Sexual Harassment

The impact that sexual harassment has on an individual or a school often depends on the type and extent of the harassment experienced. In general, effects of sexual harassment are more severe when the behaviours are intrusive (Lee, Croninger, Linn, & Chen, 1996; Shoop & Edwards, 1994). Male students tend to report fewer problems following harassment, perhaps due to less intrusive harassment, or the under-reporting of negative effects (Bremer, Moore, & Bildersee, 1991; Strauss, 1988). Effects of school-based sexual harassment can be discussed under three main headings; behavioural, emotional and academic. Each gives light to the direct impact sexual harassment has on the

students in the high school. Male and female students are also likely to feel the impact of a hostile educational environment indirectly, for "when sexual harassment exists, the total organization is impacted in some negative way" (Meyer, Bertold, Oestreich, & Collins, 1981, p. xiii).

Emotional effects. The emotional impact of being sexually harassed at school seems to range from subtle to severe. Female students who reported being sexually harassed in the high school through surveys indicated experiencing feelings which are often cited by victims of rape, including fear, anger and confusion (Strauss, 1988; OSSTF, 1994). Other researchers have reported emotional effects including sadness, hurt, embarrassment, discomfort, depression, anxiety and disgust for both male and female targets (AAUW, 1993; Jensen & Gutek, 1982; OSSTF, 1994). According to the findings of the AAUW (1993), among students who said they had experienced harassing behaviours 50% reported that they had suffered embarrassment, 37% reported feeling more self-conscious and 29% said they felt less sure or confident about themselves as a result. In some cases, effects of sexual harassment have been so severe that students have indicated a need for counselling (Strauss, 1988).

Behavioural effects. The most common behavioural reaction to sexual harassment in the school is avoidance. When faced with school-based sexual harassment, students may choose to avoid the offensive person, avoid a particular location on the school grounds, avoid a particular class or activity or, in the extreme case, may choose to avoid school altogether (AAUW, 1993; OSSTF, 1994). Some students report becoming more defensive or quiet because of the

harassment, and as a result find ways to isolate themselves (OSSTF, 1994). Other students report the opposite reaction, stating that they became more likely to fight back, be aggressive and sexually harass others (OSSTF, 1994).

Academic effects. Exposure to sexual harassment in the school context results in a dislike of school, and truancy therefore is a common reaction to being sexually harassed at school. In the AAUW (1993) survey, 23% of those who said they had been sexually harassed said that they did not want to attend school, and 24% said that they had stayed home or cut class as a result. Sexual harassment may silence our students, as students report being less likely to talk in class as a result of the harassment they received (AAUW, 1993; Lee et al., 1996; OSSTF, 1994). Following exposure to sexual harassment at school, some students have reported a drop in their school grades, difficulties concentrating in class and some found studying to be more difficult. As the result of school-based sexual harassment, the AAUW (1993) reported that 4% of boys and 5% of girls "doubt whether they have what it takes to graduate from high school" (p. 16). Female targets of sexual harassment have reported feeling distracted, unmotivated and fearful of returning to where the harassment took place (Jensen & Gutek, 1982). In some cases students have said that the sexual harassment was so bad that they felt they had to change schools (AAUW, 1993).

Implications for Practice and Policy

While at school, children develop their personal boundaries, their own system of beliefs, and solidify their values. High school encompasses a student's adolescence, where "gender sensitivity is either determined or

developed" (Lee et al., 1994, p. 115). From an early age, then, it becomes important to teach and enforce harassment-free learning environments. Those students who have grown up in homes with appropriate and positive behavioural models will find their belief system and behaviours reinforced by the school system. Those who lack appropriate models will soon discover that their school environment operates with a more respectful concern for personal boundaries. Rutter (1996) asserts that through such awareness students will learn to reject sexual harassment as a normal part of their school experience. It is his recommendation that age-appropriate training about harassment-free workplace standards begin as early as grade four.

Schools have a responsibility to acknowledge sexual harassment, and are legally required to take action to ensure a safe learning environment (Wishnietsky, 1994). Sexual harassment policy is quickly becoming essential, and experts in the field have made many clear recommendations. School boards have been advised to avoid policies which attempt to capture all cases of sexual harassment; keep policy brief, acknowledge students, staff and teachers as potential targets and outline specific and timely mechanisms for complaints (Gregory, 1993). When complaints are lodged, reliable and timely follow-through is essential (Wishnietsky, 1994). To reinforce these mechanisms, Gregory (1993) recommends that students and staff receive annual reviews concerning their personal rights and reporting procedures. Given that many students have reported being unaware of school policy, frequent reminders throughout the school year may also be warranted.

Sexually harassing behaviours are very common in the high school, and may lead to the creation of a hostile learning environment. Schools are encouraged to investigate sexual harassment among their own students through class discussions, anonymous surveys and open forums. Listening and responding to students' concerns and experiences may help to create an atmosphere of heightened respect, and may promote a zero tolerance attitude concerning sexually harassing behaviours.

Within the classroom, teachers can model respectful behaviour, and avoid use of curriculum and materials that reinforce sex-role stereotyping. Programs which promote personal empowerment, healthy boundaries and assertiveness skills have been shown to prevent sexual harassment in the school (for detailed curriculum guides see Shoop & Hayhow, 1994 and Stein & Sjostrom, 1994). Staff and students may benefit from training on the issue of sexual harassment, aimed to help individuals identify what constitutes sexual harassment in the school environment. Teachers may receive additional training to develop reflective, empathetic listening skills. In the past low-level behaviours have been dismissed because they appear trivial, but as survey results have shown these behaviours are often recurrent, and can have significant negative effects on a student's behaviour, education and affect.

Finally, schools may be wise to keep supports and resources accessible to students. Poster campaigns and informative pamphlets may be made readily available to students and staff. Also, as surveys have indicated, the effects of sexual harassment can be quite serious, and in some cases students have

expressed the need for counselling. Access to counsellors may allow students to work through their emotions, build confidence or learn skills of empowerment and assertion, which may in turn reduce the negative impact sexual harassment has on that student's ability to succeed in school.

Summary

The identification and study of sexual harassment in the high school has evolved from the earlier investigations of sexual harassment among women in the workplace and students in university or college. As literature in this area expands, so too does our understanding of school-based sexual harassment. Most cases of sexual harassment in the high school involve peers harassing each other, and targets of these behaviours seem to be boys as well as girls. While sexual harassment is still conceptualized as a form of aggression, power issues that support such behaviour cannot be sufficiently explained by theories of organizational power or male privilege.

Sexual harassment in the high school most commonly involves the formation of a hostile environment, but forced, intrusive sexual actions have also been reported. Through surveys, many students have indicated that they lack knowledge concerning sexual harassment policies and procedures in their schools, and may have trouble labelling their own experiences as sexually harassing. School boards are advised to take action to teach students about the issues, and to put effective policies in place to protect their learning environments and avoid legal liability. Dissemination of information informing students of their personal rights and school complaint procedures is also recommended. The

educational culture is slowly changing, and schools are challenged to create programs and initiatives that encourage empowerment, healthy gender relations and respect for personal boundaries. Through education, positive role models, comprehensive policy, early intervention and reliable follow-through on complaints perhaps students of future generations will not dismiss sexual harassment as a "normal" part of their school environment.

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Chapter 3

Sexual Harassment in Two Alberta High Schools

Introduction

Sexual harassment is beginning to be acknowledged in the high school environment, once considered to be a kind of 'safe haven' for our youth. In an effort to examine sexual harassment as it occurs among students, the following paper contains results of a survey which examined students' experience of school-based sexual harassment in two large Alberta high schools. "Sexual harassment" brings stereotypical images to mind; the female secretary being sexually exploited by her male boss, "cat calls" from construction workers to the females passing by, or the male professor who subtly implies that sexual favours from his females students will be rewarded with better grades. Research, however, has clearly shown that sexual harassment extends far beyond the office forum and university campus; it is a phenomenon which reaches through the boundaries of race, age and gender, and across a wide variety of situations and environments (Paludi, 1997; Schoop & Edwards, 1994). While definitions vary, most agree that sexual harassment involves unsolicited and unreciprocated sexual attention, and it has been suggested that sexual harassment should be recognized as a form of violence (Stein, 1995).

Results of a Canadian-based, national survey concerning unwanted sexual attention and sexual harassment was published by the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) in 1983. Individual interviews were conducted with

a normative sample that reflected the national adult population (aged 18 and older). Each participant was asked the following question:

> Please tell me whether you never, occasionally or frequently experience any of the following forms of unwanted sexual attention — leering or suggestive looks; sexual remarks or teasing; subtle sexual hints and pressure; touching, brushing against, grabbing, pinching; repeated pressure for personal relationship or sex; forced sex (p. 5, CHRC, 1983).

Of the 2004 persons surveyed, 41% (826 individuals) stated that they had experienced at least one incident of unwanted sexual attention from the six categories mentioned, representing nearly half of the women (49%), and one third of the men (33%). Sexual remarks or teasing, and leering or suggestive looks were mentioned most often by those polled. The majority of women (93%) indicated that men had initiated the unwanted attention, while men indicated that the unwanted attention originated from women (62%) and men (24%). When participants were asked whether they labelled the unwanted sexual attention as sexual harassment, only one quarter (23%) said that they did (30% of women and 12% of men), representing just 9% of the total sample (15% of all women and 4% of all men). The CHRC (1983) generalized these results to conclude that, "15% of Canadian women and 4% of Canadian men have at some time had an experience which they considered to have been sexual harassment, that is, 1.2 million women and 300,000 men believe they have been sexually harassed" (p.6).

The label sexual harassment appeared to be related to the seriousness of the incident (more serious incidents were more likely to be labelled as harassment), and to the frequency of the behaviour (people who said they had

been harassed were more likely to indicate that the behaviour occurred two or more times). Results from this national survey indicate that unwanted sexual attention is an issue among Canadian adults, although few of them label that attention as sexual harassment. Previous research has shown that the office and university are also impacted by sexual harassment (Adams, Kottke, & Padgitt, 1983; Hamilton, Alagna, King, & Lloyd, 1987; Maypole & Skaine, 1983; Rubin & Borgers, 1990; Tangri, Burt & Johnson, 1982), and as researchers have acknowledged that sexual harassment is widespread across these settings, attention has turned to the examination of sexual harassment in the high school forum.

In 1993, school-aged girls were invited to respond to two open-ended questions in an issue of Seventeen magazine (Stein, Marshall, & Tropp, 1993). The magazine asked, "What do you think schools should do to prevent sexual harassment?" and "If you've been sexually harassed at school, how did it make you feel?" Thousands of pre-teen and teenage girls responded, and the experiences they described were revealing of sexual harassment as it occurs in school. Given the magnitude of response, and the severity of the harassment described, Stein and her colleagues (1993; Stein, 1995) concluded that sexual harassment in the school demanded further study. The following testimonial was published by Stein (1995) as a follow-up to the survey results:

> In my case there were 2 or 3 boys touching me, and trust me they were big boys. And I'd tell them to stop but they wouldn't! This went on for about 6 months until finally I was in [one] of my classes in the back of the room minding my own business when all of them came back and backed me into a corner and started touching me all over. So I went running out of the room and the teacher yelled

> at me and I had to stay in my seat for the rest of the class. But after the class I told the principal, and him and the boys had a little talk. And after the talk was up, the boys came out laughing cause they got no punishment (12 years old, Mexican American; p. 146).

Another student wrote,

> I took a photography class, and the majority of the class was boys. A lot of the boys were my friends, but three of them were after something different than friendship. On several occasions I was in the dark room developing pictures and they would come in and corner me. They would touch me, put their hands on my thighs and slide their hands up my shirt. They also often tried to put my hand down their pants. I often told my friends but no one believed me... (15 years old, White: Stein, 1995; p. 148).

Survey research into high school based sexual harassment began about a decade ago, although it has been limited and focused mainly on American populations. In 1988, Strauss completed a survey with a population of predominantly white, middle-class American secondary students who ranged from 16 to 18 years of age. Students first participated in a three-hour workshop which defined sexual harassment and then reviewed the causes, risk factors, and potential techniques for prevention and intervention. Following the presentation, a questionnaire was administered asking the students if they had been sexually harassed, and if so, how they dealt with the incident(s). Of the 130 males surveyed, only one reported that he had been a target of sexual harassment. A significantly larger proportion (40%) of the 133 females surveyed indicated that they had been sexually harassed. Overall, 22% of the boys and 61% of the girls indicated that they thought sexual harassment was a problem in their school (Strauss, 1988).

Recently studies have begun to focus on larger, more representative

surveys of high school students. In 1993, a study was commissioned by the American Association of University Women's (AAUW) Educational Foundation, to investigate sexual harassment in American high schools. A student questionnaire was developed to ask students about their "school-related experiences during school-related times" (p. 6), and the following definition of sexual harassment was provided: "Sexual harassment is unwanted and unwelcome sexual behaviour which interferes with your life. Sexual behaviour is not behaviours that you like or want (for example: wanted kissing, touching or flirting)" (p. 6). Fourteen specific behaviours were queried, prefaced by the question, "during your whole school life, how often, if at all, has anyone (this includes students, teachers, other school employees, or anyone else) done the following things to you when you did not want them to?" The survey was completed by a representative sample of 1632 public high school students in grades 8 through 11. Results indicated that 4 out of 5 high school students (81%) reported that they had been the target of at least one form of sexually harassing behaviour at school (85% of girls and 76% of boys). Girls tended to experience these behaviours at higher frequencies than boys, and peer harassment was clearly predominant for both genders, representing 79% of all cases. Although boys initiated most of the harassment girls were also frequent perpetrators.

Results of a modified version of the AAUW questionnaire, used with a sample of 707 New Jersey high school students (grades 9 through 12) produced similar results (Trigg & Wittenstrom, 1996). The questionnaire defined sexual

harassment as "unwanted and unwelcome [sexual] behaviour which interferes with your life", and "not behaviours that you like or want" (p 56). Eleven behaviours were provided as examples of sexual harassment. Comparable with the study by the AAUW (1993), 87% of the girls and 70% of the boys reported that they had experienced at least one of these eleven behaviours while at school, representing 79% of the entire sample. Thirty-six percent said that they first experienced these kinds of behaviours in grades six through eight, while15% said that their first experiences occurred as early as grade five.

The study conducted by Roscoe, Strouse and Goodwin (1994) included 561 students (281 females and 280 males) ranging from 11 to 16 years of age. Similar to the two studies mentioned previously, participants were provided with a list of sexually harassing behaviours, and were asked to mark an "X" before those they had experienced. Results showed that 50% of females and 37% of males had experienced at least one of the listed behaviours, initiated by their peers.

In 1994, a comprehensive school study on sexual harassment was completed in Canada, conducted by the Ontario Secondary School Teacher's Federation (OSSTF) in conjunction with the Ontario Women's Directorate and the Violence Prevention Secretariat from the provincial Ministry of Education and Training (OSSTF, 1994). This survey involved 264 high school students (110 males and 154 females) in grades 9 through 13. Students partook in a 30-minute workshop prior to the survey, and were provided with a clear definition of sexual harassment. The survey included many questions about personal experience

with sexual harassment (e.g., Have you ever been sexually harassed in your school setting? Have you ever sexually harassed another student in your school setting?), and participants were asked to indicate the types of sexual harassment they had experienced from a list of twelve behaviours. Of those surveyed, 70% indicated that they had experienced some form of sexually harassing behaviour while at school, representing 83% of female students and 50% of male students. Two thirds (66%) of the harassment was by another student, 12% by a member of the school staff, and 8% involved someone else. Nearly 80% of the females, and 30% of the males surveyed said that they were afraid of being sexually harassed at school, and 55% reported having been sexually harassed in a community setting (70% of female and 36% of male students).

These studies have been instrumental in developing our understanding of sexual harassment in the high school, and several methodological issues suggest direction for future investigations. With the exception of the subject population involved in the Seventeen magazine's teen survey, the studies reviewed here used robust sampling procedures and results are likely to generalize to other teen populations. In each of these surveys, however, the investigator provided a definition of sexual harassment and examples of sexually harassing behaviours prior to asking the students whether or not they had been sexually harassed. Results, therefore, may have been influenced to some degree by researcher bias. Some authors speculate that sexual harassment may 'look' different conceptually, to an adolescent than it would to an adult (Loredo, Reid, & Deaux, 1995; Reilly, Carpenter, Dull, & Bartlett, 1982; Roscoe,

Strouse, & Goodwin, 1994), and the definition issues surrounding sexual harassment have revealed that this term can take on different meanings with different people (Ross & Marlowe, 1985; Strauss, 1988). As a result, it cannot be surmised from these findings what number of students would consider themselves targets of sexual harassment according to their own definitions, that is, when a definition of sexual harassment has not been presented, and where lists of sexually harassing behaviours have not been provided as a guide. Furthermore, exposure to sexually harassing behaviour does not necessarily mean that an individual understands that experience to be sexual harassment. This distinction was suggested by results of the CHRC (1983) survey, where less than one quarter of those who said they had experienced unwanted sexual attention labelled their experience as sexual harassment.

If the phenomenon of sexual harassment is to be understood as it occurs in the high school context, surveys which provide a definition of sexual harassment for its participants are needed, but so too are those which do not. Students may define sexual harassment in a manner that is inconsistent with that of adults, and consequently imposition of a prescribed definition may limit our understanding of sexual harassment as it is perceived by high school students. Discrepancies in survey findings also suggest that the incidence of sexual harassment varies from place to place (CHRC, 1983; Strauss, 1988; Roscoe et al., 1994; Trigg & Wittenstrom, 1996), and while the OSSTF's (1994) results may generalize to Ontario high school students, the sexual harassment picture is likely to vary across Canada.

The present study was designed to gather information about school-based sexual harassment among students from two Alberta high schools. Students were asked whether they believed they had been sexually harassed at school. A definition of sexual harassment was not provided, and examples of sexually harassing behaviours were not given as a guide. In addition to disclosing their own personal experience with sexual harassment in the school, participants were asked to state their degree of agreement or disagreement to three 'attitude' statements regarding sexual harassment, using a five-point Likert scale.

Method

Participants

Five hundred and eighty nine (589) high school students (303 males and 284 females, plus two individuals who did not indicate their gender) who were attending Career and Life Management (CALM) classes from two, small-city Alberta high schools participated in this study. Surveys were distributed to all students in participating classes, with a return rate of about 99%. CALM classes can be taken by senior high school students in grades 9 through 12. Students "build skills they can apply in their everyday lives" and "expand their knowledge about careers, occupations and job opportunities" (Alberta Education, 1997, p. 2). The courses are taught from the philosophy that a "career encompasses more than activities just related to a person's job or occupation: It involves one's personal life" (p. 2). At the time of the study, CALM classes were compulsory for all students. CALM class students who took part in this survey ranged from 13 to 22 years

(mean = 15.9, SD = 1.39), with grade levels of 9 through 12 (mean = 10.8, SD = 1.25). Thirty-seven percent (37%) of participants were in grade 12, 28% were in grade 11, 11% were in grade 10 and 24% were in grade 9. Two individuals declined to provide their current grade level.

Measures

Participants completed a one-page, double-sided questionnaire designed to gather information about student experiences of sexual harassment (see Appendix B). The questionnaire asked for demographic details (age, gender, current grade) and information concerning personal experience, attitudes and perceptions of sexual harassment as it occurs inside and outside of the school environment. If students indicated that they had been sexually harassed while at school, they were asked to describe their experience. If students reported that they had not been sexually harassed while at school, they were asked to describe any situation that made them feel uncomfortable. Participants were also asked to respond to 'opinion' statements concerning sexual harassment using a five-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree). Three statements were presented: "I think that sexual harassment is a problem in our school," "I think that sexual harassment is a problem outside of school," and "People who are sexually harassed usually deserve it."

Procedure

Permission to approach students with questionnaires was obtained from school principals and classroom teachers. Classroom teachers and school counsellors who volunteered to participate in the study, distributed the

questionnaires to their students during class time. Student participation was anonymous and voluntary, with individual consent demonstrated through completion of the questionnaire. Students were given the choice of whether or not to participate, and were informed that there was no penalty for opting out of the study or for choosing to return a blank questionnaire. Since CALM classes were compulsory for all students at some point during their high school program, and given that only one blank survey was returned, results of this study are most likely indicative of the overall school population. Once completed, questionnaires were sealed in envelopes and were returned by the school counsellor to the researcher.

Results

Descriptive Data

Of the 589 participants who completed questionnaires, 102 (17%) indicated that they had been sexually harassed at school, 478 (81%) indicated that they had not, and 9 individuals (2%) did not respond to the question (see Table 1 for details). Of the 17% (102) of students who said they had been sexually harassed at school, 30 (29%) were male (representing 10% of all male participants) and 72 (71%) were female (representing 25% of all females participants). Although respondents who indicated experience with sexual harassment in school ranged from 13 to 18 years of age (mean = 15.9; SD = 1.24), the highest proportion was among 15 year olds (28.4%), followed by 13, 16 and 17 year olds (18%, 18% and 19%, respectively). This distribution corresponded to a mean grade of 10.86 (range 9 through 12; SD = 1.03). Among participants who were in grade 9, 9% said they had been sexually

Table 1:

Number of Students who Reported Being Sexually Harassed at School as a Function of Gender.

Group	Harassment Experience			
	Harassed	Not harassed	Unknown	Total
Males	30	269	4	303
Females	72	207	5	284
Unknown gender	0	2	0	2
Total	102	478	9	589

harassed. Thirty eight percent of participants in grade 10, 21% of participants in grade 11 and 16% of participants in grade 12 indicated experience with school-based sexual harassment.

Illustrative Responses

If students indicated that they had been sexually harassed while at school, they were given the opportunity to describe their experience. If students indicated that they had not been sexually harassed at school, they were asked to describe any situation that made them feel uncomfortable. Responses were grouped into seven categories: non-sexual events, descriptions of sexual harassment involving a friend or non-school event, emotional or indirect descriptions of unwanted events and four categories of unwanted sexual behaviour (non-verbal, verbal, touching and assault). When descriptions included more than one incident, the response was grouped according to the most intrusive behaviour described. Among the 17% who said they had been sexually harassed, 73 (72%) responded to the open ended question which asked them to describe their experiences (see Appendix C for a complete list of responses). Of these, 50 were female (69% of all females who said they had been harassed) and 23 were male (77% of all males who said they had been harassed). A breakdown of the responses is shown in Table 2. The majority of responses (86%) described sexually harassing behaviours, while the remaining 13% either described the emotional experience of being sexually harassed (e.g., "I was scared") or provided an indirect description of the experience (e.g., "I'm still getting over it").

Among those who said they had not been sexually harassed, 130 (27%)

Table 2.

Categorical Breakdown of Students' Descriptions of their Experience: Events Labelled as Sexual Harassment Compared to those not Labelled as Sexual Harassment.

Descriptive Category	Experience labelled as	
	Not sexually harassing	Sexually harassing
Non-sexual events	37%	0
Sexual harassment involving a friend, or unrelated to school	12%	0
Unwanted non-verbal sexual behaviours	18%	4%
Unwanted, verbal sexual behaviours	26%	30%
Unwanted sexual touching	8%	47%
Sexual assault (attempted and completed)	0	5%
Emotional or indirect descriptions of unwanted sexual events	0	13%

Note. Students who said they had been sexually harassed at school were asked to describe their experience on the questionnaire. Students who said they had not been harassed at school were asked to describe a situation that made them feel uncomfortable. Numbers do not add up to 100% due to rounding error.

described an experience where they had felt uncomfortable (see Appendix C). Of these, 76 were written by females (representing 36% of all females who said they had not been harassed) and 53 were written by males (representing 19% of all males who said they had not been harassed). As shown in Table 2, more than half of these responses referred to unwanted sexual events. While these experiences were remarkably similar to those provided by harassed students, students in this group did not seem to label or recognize such experiences as sexual harassment.

Opinion Questions

All participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement to three statements using a five-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutrual; 4=agree; and 5=strongly agree). Results were collapsed to reflect disagreement, neutrality and agreement, and are presented in Table 3 (note that missing cases were excluded). In reaction to the statement, "I think that sexual harassment is a problem in our school," the mean response for all participants was 2.65 (SD = 0.91, n=578), reflecting slight disagreement with the statement. Among those students who indicated that they had been sexually harassed at school, the mean response to this question was neutral (mean = 3.03; SD = 1.13; n=102), while students who said they had not been sexually harassed tended to disagree (mean = 2.57; SD = .84; n=476). The overall average response for male and female participants was 2.48 (SD = 0.91) and 2.80 (SD = 0.87) respectively. Among those who indicated that they had been sexually harassed at school, male and female averages were 2.23 (SD = 1.22) and 3.36 (SD = 0.88) respectively. For those participants who said they had not been sexually harassed, the average

Table 3:
Students' Mean Level of Agreement to Three Statements Regarding Sexual Harassment.

		"I think that sexual harassment is a problem in our school."			"I think that sexual harassment is a problem outside of school."			"People who are sexually harassed usually deserve it."		
		Harassed	Not Harassed	All	Harassed	Not Harassed	All	Harassed	Not Harassed	All
Males	D	60%	49%	51%	30%	18%	19%	74%	90%	87%
	N	27%	41%	39%	27%	24%	23%	3%	6%	5%
	A	14%	9%	10%	43%	58%	56%	23%	5%	7%
	Mean	2.23	2.51	2.48	3.10	3.48	3.44	2.17	1.58	1.64
	N	30	269	299	30	269	299	30	269	299
Females	D	13%	42%	34%	4%	10%	9%	95%	94%	94%
	N	44%	48%	46%	21%	29%	26%	1%	2%	2%
	A	43%	11%	19%	75%	61%	65%	4%	4%	5%
	Mean	3.36	2.64	2.80	3.96	3.62	3.71	1.40	1.35	1.37
	N	72	207	279	72	207	279	72	207	279
Males and Females	D	27%	46%	42%	12%	14%	14%	89%	92%	90%
	N	39%	44%	43%	23%	26%	25%	2%	4%	4%
	A	35%	10%	14%	66%	59%	61%	10%	4%	5%
	Mean	3.03	2.57	2.65	3.71	3.54	3.58	1.63	1.48	1.51
	N	102	476	578	102	476	578	102	476	578

Note: Missing cases have not been included. Responses were originally made on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Results were collapsed to reflect disagreement (D), neutrality (N), and agreement (A).

response was 2.64 for females (SD = 0.80), and 2.51 for males (SD = 0.87).

Scores given in response to this statement were analysed in a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA), comparing the experience of being sexually harassed at school by gender (see Table 4). The analysis showed a significant experience effect ($F=4.63$, $p<0.05$) with larger agreement among those who had been harassed (means = 3.02 and 2.57), a significant gender effect ($F=37.55$, $p<0.01$) with greater agreement from female participants (means = 2.83 and 2.48) and a significant experience-gender interaction ($F=23.82$, $p<0.01$). While male and female students who said they had not been harassed at school gave similar responses to this question, there was a significant gender difference among those who said they had been harassed, where females who had been harassed showed a higher level of overall agreement.

In reaction to the statement, "I think that sexual harassment is a problem outside of our school," the mean response for males, females, those who said they had been harassed, and those who said they had not been harassed all fell between 3.00 and 4.00, reflecting slight agreement (see Table 3 for details). An analysis of variance for responses to this statement compared the experience of school-based sexual harassment by gender (see Table 5). The results yielded a significant main effect of gender ($F=19.7$, $p<0.01$) with more agreement responses among female students (means = 3.71 and 3.44), and a significant gender-experience interaction ($F=10.25$, $p<0.01$). The experience effect did not reach significance ($F=0.03$, $p>0.05$). Male and female students who were not sexually harassed at school responded at similar levels to this question (means = 3.48 and

Table 4.

Analysis of Variance for the Statement, "I think that Sexual Harassment is a Problem in our School".

Source	df	F
Gender (G)	1	37.55 **
Harassment Experience (H)	1	4.63 *
G x H	1	23.82 **
Residual	573	(.752)

Note. Value enclosed in parentheses represent mean square error.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 5.

Analysis of Variance for the Statement, "I think that Sexual Harassment is a Problem Outside of School".

Source	df	F
Gender (G)	1	19.70 **
Harassment Experience (H)	1	0.03
G x H	1	10.25 **
Residual	571	(.905)

Note. Value enclosed in parentheses represent mean square error.

*p < .05. **p < .01.

3.62 respectively), however males who were sexually harassed expressed neutrality towards this statement (mean = 3.10), while females who were sexually harassed expressed agreement (mean = 3.96).

Finally, in reaction to the statement, "People who are sexually harassed usually deserve it," the mean response for all participants was 1.51 (SD = 0.91), reflecting considerable disagreement (as shown in Table 3). Among those students who indicated that they had been sexually harassed at school, the mean response to this question also reflected moderate disagreement (mean = 1.63; SD = 1.13). Among those who had not been sexually harassed, considerable disagreement was also the average response (mean = 1.48; SD = 8.44). The gender response breakdown for this statement revealed that the overall average response for male and female participants was 1.64 (SD = 0.94) and 1.37 (SD = 0.87) respectively. Among those who indicated that they had been sexually harassed at school, male and female averages were 2.17 (SD = 1.46) and 1.40 (SD = 0.88) respectively. Among those who had not been sexually harassed at school, the average male response was 1.58 (SD = 0.85) and the average female response was 1.35 (SD = 0.83).

Scores given in response to this third statement were analysed in a two-way ANOVA, comparing gender and the experience of being sexually harassed at school (see Table 6). The analysis yielded a significant experience effect ($F=9.48$, $p<0.01$) with higher agreement among those who had been harassed (means = 1.63 and 1.48 for those who had and had not been harassed, respectively), a significant gender effect ($F=22.77$, $p<0.01$) with higher agreement among males

Table 6.

Analysis of Variance for the Statement, "People who are Sexually Harassed Usually Deserve it".

Source	df	F
Gender (G)	1	22.77 **
Harassment Experience (H)	1	9.48 **
G x H	1	6.40 *
Residual	574	(.785)

Note. Value enclosed in parentheses represent mean square error.

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

(means = 1.64 and 1.37 for males and females, respectively) and a significant experience-gender interaction (F=6.40, p<0.01). Males who said they had been harassed showed a significantly higher level of agreement to this statement in comparison with females who reported experience with school based harassment, and in comparison with both males and females who said they had not been harassed.

Comparison Across Schools

A one-way analysis of variance comparing student responses from the two participating schools was conducted for each "opinion" question. There was a statistically significant difference between students from the two schools with respect to the statement, "I think that sexual harassment is a problem outside of school" (F=8.573, p<0.01). There were no significant school-differences in reaction to the statements "I think that sexual harassment is a problem in our school" (F=0.0001, p> 0.05), nor for the statement "People who are sexually harassed usually deserve it" (F=3.25, p>0.05).

Discussion

This study offered the opportunity to investigate students' perceptions of sexual harassment in two Alberta high schools, and results can be grouped into three main findings. First, sexual harassment is an issue affecting high school students. Approximately one in six high school students (17%) indicated that they had experienced school-based sexual harassment. Although more females said

they had been sexually harassed at school (one in four), a significant proportion of males also said that they had been targets of sexual harassment (one in ten). Proportionately, 15 year olds and students in grade 10 were most likely to say they had experienced school-based sexual harassment. Results from this study are significantly lower than would have been expected based on previous investigations conducted with high school populations. Secondly, results reveal that sexual harassment involves more than simple exposure to offensive sexual behaviours. Students who described either their experience of being sexually harassed, or some other experience where they felt uncomfortable (i.e., not sexual harassment) described similar behavioural events. Among those students who did not view their experience as sexually harassing, over half described unwanted sexual attention that made them feel uncomfortable. Thus, while sexual harassment may be largely a perceptual issue, individually defined and determined, students seem to lack awareness and knowledge of what constitutes sexually harassment and what does not. Finally, results of this study show that male students who had been sexually harassed tended to minimize the issue of sexual harassment in their school. About one quarter of these males agreed that, "people who are sexually harassed usually deserve it," suggesting some degree of self-blame or guilt concerning their experience. When taken together, results of this study confirm that sexual harassment is a complicated issue, and continues to be defined from "the eye of the beholder" (Gregory, 1993; Strauss, 1988). Students may benefit from education directed at increasing awareness of what constitutes sexual harassment for the "reasonable student", and from policies concerning intolerable and

inappropriate school behaviour. Implications for future research in this area are discussed below.

While incidence results from this study indicate that sexual harassment is an issue for a significant proportion of high school students, numbers are dramatically lower than those reported in previous studies with teenage populations. For example, among a sample of students aged 16 to 18, Strauss (1988) found that 40% of the females believed they had been sexually harassed at school. Researchers in the larger AAUW study (1993) reported that 4 out of 5 high school students (81%) had experienced sexually harassing behaviours at school (85% of girls and 76% of boys), and similar results were reported by Trigg and Wittenstrom in 1996. In a recent Ontario-based school survey (OSSTF, 1994) researchers reported that 70% of students had experienced sexually harassing behaviour while at school, representing 83% of female students and 50% of male students. These studies have lead investigators to conclude that sexual harassment is a prominent high school issue, directly affecting the majority of students.

However, results of the current study place such a conclusion under serious speculation. These findings of self-reported sexual harassment seem to fit best with the national incidence statistics published by the Canadian Human Rights Commission in 1983. According to their research, 41% of adults surveyed reported that they had experienced at least one incident of unwanted sexual attention. When asked whether that attention constituted sexual harassment, however, only 23% said that it did (30% of women and 12% of men). As a reflection of the whole sample then, 15% of all women and 4% of all men believed that they had been

sexually harassed.

It seems that exposure to unwanted sexual attention is not always perceived as sexual harassment, and that singular or infrequent incidents of 'low-grade' sexually harassing behaviour is not akin to the experience of being sexually harassed. As the CHRC study (1983) suggested, people were more likely to label their experience as sexual harassment when the behaviour was severe, or when the offensive behaviour(s) occurred often. With the exception of the current study, most survey-based investigations of sexual harassment defined the concept for their participants prior to testing, either through a clear, written definition of sexual harassment, an interactive workshop and/or behavioural examples (AAUW, 1993; CHRC, 1983; OSSTF, 1994; Roscoe, Strouse & Goodwin, 1994; Strauss, 1988; Trigg & Wittenstrom, 1996). When asked specifically about experiencing an incident of unwanted, offensive sexual attention it seems that most students will indicate experience with at least one such behaviour; when asked whether or not that behaviour was considered, by them, to be sexual harassment, it seems many will say that it did not. Based on these behaviour-experience checklists then, it may be argued that results overestimate the frequency school-based sexual harassment.

In a similar vein, based on the survey style employed in the present study, it is reasonable to surmise that results reflect an underestimate of sexual harassment in the high school, since the experience of sexual harassment was individually defined by the students. Evidence for this hypothesis comes from the descriptions students provided of their own experiences. Either due to denial, minimization or

limited awareness, it seems that some students characterize the experience of offensive, unwanted sexual attention as something more acceptable than sexual harassment. Students, therefore, may not be aware of what constitutes sexual harassment. Of those students who said they had been sexually harassed at school, descriptions of being sexually harassed ranged from non-verbal sexual gestures and looks to attempted sexual assault and rape, and most descriptions referred to incidents of unwanted sexual touching. Surprisingly, students who said they had not been sexually harassed disclosed very similar experiences when asked to describe a situation that made them feel uncomfortable. More than half of these responses referred to some form of unwanted sexual attention. While the students did not consider these experiences to be sexually harassing, 18% of responses referred to unwanted sexual gestures or looks, 26% referred to unwanted sexual comments, and 8% referred to unwanted sexual touching. These findings again highlight the discrepancy between exposure to sexually harassing behaviour and the labelling of that experience as sexual harassment.

In terms of research methodology then, these findings reflect the importance of focusing not only on what questions are asked, but also how the questions are presented to research participants. It seems reasonable to predict that had these students been given a list of sexually harassing behaviours, the majority would have indicated experience with at least one. Results from the current study, however, show that a minority (17%) of students would have labelled their experience as sexual harassment. Sexual harassment seems to be a perceptual issue effected by student awareness, and more needs to be learned before we can

identify the kind of decision making processes students employ to determine which behaviours are acceptable and under which circumstances.

Results from the opinion questions provided additional information on students' perceptions of sexual harassment. The statement, "I think that sexual harassment is a problem in our school", prompted most students to respond in disagreement. Females who said they had been harassed showed the most agreement with the statement and males who had been harassed showed the most disagreement. Males and females who said they had not been harassed also disagreed, but not to the same extent. Reactions to the statement, "I think that sexual harassment is a problem outside of school" suggested that most students feel sexual harassment is of greater concern in the general community. Again, females who had been harassed showed the highest agreement to this statement, and males who had been harassed showed the most disagreement.

A unique response pattern, however, was obtained for the statement, "people who are sexually harassed usually deserve it." Students in all groups strongly disagreed with this statement, with the exception of males who said they had been sexually harassed at school. Of this group, 23% agreed that people who are sexually harassed usually deserved it.

When considered in its entirety, these response patterns reveal that males who say they have been sexually harassed tend to believe that sexual harassment is not a problem in their school. Perhaps more importantly, one quarter of these males show some evidence of self-blame or guilt for the harassment they have personally experienced. These results fit well with previous work conducted in the

area of male victimization, where men and boys who have been the target of abuse tend to blame themselves (Bolton, Morris, & MacEachron, 1989; Breer, 1992; Mendel, 1995), feel shamed by their experience (Lisak, 1995), and minimize the impact the abuse has had on their lives (Baker & Duncan, 1985; Finklehor, 1984; Holmes, Offen, & Waller, 1997). Holmes, Offen and Waller (1997) found that males who had been sexually abused as children were unlikely to label their experiences as abusive and tended not to disclose negative aspects of their experience. Recognition of males as potential targets of sexual harassment and further study of the male experience of being sexually harassed is clearly warranted.

Other research design issues within this study provide room for further development. While the research methodology used here included a large sample of high school students, it was not representative of all high school students in Alberta, and thus results may not generalize to the greater population. A larger sample size which included racial and geographic diversity would certainly add to future studies in this area. As discussed, providing examples of sexual harassment or definitions may bias the survey results, and take away from our understanding of how aware students are about the issue of sexual harassment. Again, what is perhaps most interesting about this study was that students who did not consider themselves targets of sexual harassment nonetheless described the experience of unwanted sexual attention while at school. Obviously what is sexually harassing to one student may not be to another. Building our understanding of how students make these judgments may be yet another avenue for future research, with significant social relevance in today's turbulent

and often violent world. Learning about the experience of sexual harassment directly from teenagers may help to develop effective intervention programs, awareness education and preventative strategies for the future. Further experimental research in this area is needed.

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Chapter 4

Sexual Harassment Between High School Peers: What Students Find Acceptable and Unacceptable

Introduction

Many studies conducted in the area of sexual harassment have aimed to gather information about incidence rates in the workplace and on university or college campuses, and results have shown that sexual harassment is pervasive across these situations (Hoffman, 1986; Maypole & Skaine, 1983; Reilly, Lott, & Gallogly, 1986; Rogers & Henson, 1997). More recently, attention has turned to sexual harassment among younger populations. When questionnaires have included a definition of sexual harassment and a checklist of sexually harassing behaviours, researchers have found that incidence rates among high school students range from 40 to 83 percent (American Association of University Women (AAUW), 1993; Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF),1994; Strauss, 1988; Trigg & Wittenstrom, 1996). These studies have confirmed that the experience of unwanted sexual attention is common in many forums, but it remains unclear exactly when an experience of unwanted sexual attention becomes an incident of sexual harassment.

In a national survey by the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC, 1983), 41% of participants said they had experienced one (or more) of the sexually harassing behaviours queried, yet only 23% labelled their experience sexual harassment. Of the 2004 Canadians polled in that survey, then, only 9%

considered themselves to have been sexually harassed. Results can be compared to those found by Browne and Calder (1998) among a sample of Alberta high school students. Without providing either a definition of sexual harassment or a checklist of sexually harassing behaviours, students were asked whether they had been sexually harassed at school. Of the 589 students surveyed, only 17% indicated that they had experienced school-based sexual harassment, by their own assessment. These research findings have generated significant questions surrounding the methodology employed when conducting research in the area of sexual harassment. The literature suggests that there is diversity in the way that sexual harassment is understood so that what may be perceived as sexually harassing to one individual may not be to another (Ross & Marlowe, 1985; Somers, 1982; Strauss,1988; Wiener, Hurt, Russell, Mannen, & Gasper, 1997).

In an effort to conceptualize sexual harassment, Till (1980) proposed a continuum of sexually harassing behaviours, which ranged from mild insults to severe sexual assaults. He further proposed five main classification categories, namely: gender harassment (sexist remarks and behaviour); seductive behaviour (characterized by inappropriate and offensive sexual advances); sexual bribery (propositions for sexual activity or other sex-related behaviour with the promise of reward); sexual coercion (where a sexual activity is coerced with the threat of punishment); and sexual imposition (behaviours related to sexual assault and sexual intrusion). This theoretical framework gave rise to a new research movement, designed to examine how individuals understand the term sexual harassment.

In the study conducted by Adams, Kottke and Padgitt (1983), a survey was used to discover which behavioural categories were considered to be sexual harassment by a sample of university students. The continuum proposed by Till (1980) was conceptualized into eight categories, and examples of each were provided to participants. For instance, the first category was described as, "sexist comments: jokes or remarks that are stereotypical or derogatory to members of one sex. [examples] Flirtation, being overly helpful, too friendly, or too personal but short of sexual inquiries" (Adams et al., 1983, p.486). Participants were asked to judge which of the eight categories, if any, would be construed as sexual harassment when the behaviour was directed by a faculty member towards a student. One thousand questionnaires were mailed to participants, with a reported return rate of 37%. Of those who responded, 90% considered explicit sexual propositions, physical advances and sexual bribery to be sexual harassment. Results showed less agreement among the other five categories.

As this and other studies show (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991; Johnson, Benson, Teasdale, Simmons, & Reed, 1997; Reilly, Carpenter, Dull, & Bartlett, 1982; Wiener et al., 1997), people are more likely to agree that the higher-level behaviours constitute sexual harassment (e.g., sexual assault, sexual coercion and sexual bribery). Legally, these behaviours are captured under the term "quid pro quo" sexual harassment, and seem to be relatively well recognized by the legal system. At lower ends of the continuum, however, there seems to be more disagreement as to what constitutes sexual harassment (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991; Strauss, 1988). In general, single episodes of these behaviours tend not to

be classified under that heading. However, when they occur repeatedly and frequently they may create a "hostile environment"; an atmosphere characterized by persistent, unwanted sexual attention which interferes substantially with a person's ability to work and/or study. Research has shown that repeated exposure to such low-level sexually harassing behaviours can have a significant, detrimental effect on a person's self image, social development and emotional well being (Herbert, 1992; Lee, Croninger, Linn, & Chen, 1996; Strauss, 1988). Hostile environment as a form of sexual harassment is just beginning to be recognized by the courts and increasingly policy and procedure manuals aim to prevent the development of such working climates (Koss, 1990; Stein, 1995; Strauss, 1988). The issue which complicates the inclusion of hostile environments as a form of sexual harassment in school policies and other legal documents is the question of its definition, for what is sexually harassing to one person, may not be to another.

To further complicate the issues, sexually harassing behaviours, regardless of their severity, may be interpreted differently by males and females. For example, Strouse, Goodwin and Roscoe (1994) conducted a survey with 458 young adolescents (7th and 8th graders) and found that generally female students were less accepting of sexual harassment than were their male peers. This finding has been supported by other research surveys, conducted with various populations (Cochran, Frazier & Olson, 1997; Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991; Johnson et al., 1997; Reilly et al., 1982; Strauss, 1988; Wiener et al., 1997). It seems that females are more likely to judge potentially harassing behaviours as sexual harassment, and are more likely to find these kinds of behaviours offensive and inappropriate.

Some findings however, suggest that these differences may be diminishing with time (Dietz-Uhler & Murrell, 1992).

Behaviour type, while certainly important, is not the only salient factor determining whether or not an incident is labelled sexual harassment. Recent research findings suggest that the status of the harasser can also have a significant impact on the judgements people make (Loredo, Reid, & Deaux, 1995; Somers, 1982). Indeed, among the first recognized cases of sexual harassment were those which involved unwanted, unreciprocated sexual attention, coercion or threats initiated by an employer towards an employee, by a professor towards a graduate assistant and by a teacher towards a student. Such cases where a sexual 'favour' was considered necessary for continued employment, avoidance of punishment or attainment of a good grade were brought to light mainly due to their abuse of power and authority. To date, only a few studies have attempted to examine how these, and other variables impact on the judgements students make regarding potential incidents of sexual harassment.

Among the first to complete such an investigation were Reilly and her colleagues (1983) who used a factorial survey to assess the perceptions of sexual harassment among a sample of university students. Their study was designed to examine a wide variety of potentially harassing situations and to subsequently gain a better understanding of how students define sexual harassment. Using a computer program, stimulus vignettes were created from a basic skeleton story. Several variables were manipulated: (a) status of the instructor (graduate student or professor), age and marital status, (b) the status of the female student who was the

recipient (senior undergraduate with unspecified marital status, single graduate student or married graduate student), (c) the setting of the interaction, (d) the nature of the past relationship between the student and her instructor, (e) the behaviour of the student, (f) the verbal behaviour of the instructor, (g) the physical behaviour of the instructor, and (h) presence or absence of threat or coercion. In all, 5975 unique vignettes were generated. Participants included 232 undergraduate students (165 female and 67 male) and 23 faculty members (gender not specified). Each participant was presented with a series of vignettes (exact number unspecified) and using a nine-point Likert scale, were asked to judge to what extent each vignette depicted an instance of sexual harassment. Results were subjected to a multiple regression analysis to determine which content items had the greatest effect on student responses. Findings revealed that items regarding the instructor's behaviour had the greatest impact on the judgements students made. Every item that involved a threat also reached statistical significance. The single most salient item was an explicit threat, where a student was told that her grades could be negatively effected if she refused to comply with the instructor's request. Interestingly, prior relationships between student and instructor tended to reduce the likelihood that the incident would be judged as sexual harassment, except when the previous contact had involved a sexual invitation which the student had turned down. Social setting did not significantly impact the judgements. The researchers concluded that the actions and perceived intent of the harasser were the key elements which defined sexual harassment. However, situational factors, the behaviour of the target and expectations based on past interactions can also

influence students' perceptions of specific interactions and can introduce disagreement as to whether or not the incident was interpreted as sexual harassment.

More recently, research concerning the conceptualization of sexual harassment has turned to focus on younger populations. Since the high school forum is significantly different than other work environments, teenagers may have an unique understanding of what constitutes sexual harassment. Students tend to be a captive audience within the school, and avoidance of particular peers and offensive behaviours can often be difficult. High school also encompasses adolescence, the period during which gender sensitivity is, "either determined or developed" (Lee, Marks, & Byrd, 1994, p.115). This makes high school a crucial and critical time for exploration, behaviour testing and solidification of beliefs, often becoming the foundation of personal esteem. From a developmental perspective, it is likely that adolescents' perspectives differ from adults'. Finally, while cases of sexual harassment which involve the abuse of formal power may be easier to identify (Reilly et al., 1983), studies have shown that sexual harassment between peers is far more prevalent in the high school than are teacher-student, or administrator-student sexual harassment (AAUW, 1993; OSSTF, 1994; Roscoe, Strouse, & Goodwin, 1994). Sexually harassing behaviour in the absence of a formal authority relationship may also impact students' conceptualization of sexual harassment.

These issues were addressed by the study conducted by Loredo, Reid and Deaux (1995), which investigated how high school students made judgements

about possible incidents of sexual harassment. In their study, 73 students were presented with short vignettes which depicted various incidents of teacher-to-student and student-to-student sexual harassment. Respondents were asked three questions about each scenario; (a) to indicate the extent to which they considered the initiator's behaviour to be harassing, (b) to indicate how appropriate they found the behaviour to be, and (c) to state the extent to which they believed the described behaviour would impact on future relations between the initiator and the target. All three questions were answered using a seven point Likert scale. Results from Loredo et al. showed that scenarios were more likely to be judged as harassing when the level of intrusion was severe, and when the initiator was of higher status (ie. a teacher) rather than same status (ie. another student). In general, female students were more likely to label the behaviours as sexual harassment. At higher levels of harassment, the status of the initiator seemed to have less of an impact on the judgements students made. Behaviours at lower levels (e.g., nude pinups in a closet), however, were more likely to be accepted when the initiator was another student. It seems that students hold teachers to different social rules, and that the conduct of those in authority are judged based on these higher expectations.

This study by Loredo et al. (1995) exemplifies many research strengths. The authors recognized the prevalence of student-to-student sexual harassment, they acknowledged that males and females can be both targets and initiators of sexual harassment and a strong research methodology was employed to examine how these variables influenced students' judgements of brief behavioural scenarios. These strengths, combined with those of the studies reviewed earlier suggest

several directions for future research initiatives. First, research employing larger samples of high school students would be beneficial. Secondly, in addition to the variables studied by Loredo et al., the status of the student initiator may also be examined. Students can vary in status based on many factors (e.g., age, grade seniority, popularity), and thus the status of the student initiator may also influence the judgements students make regarding sexual harassment scenarios. Finally, in presenting the brief vignettes to participants, future studies may wish to avoid introducing the scenarios as 'potentially harassing' in an effort to minimize experimenter influence.

In light of the above, the purpose of this investigation was to examine the effects several variables had on the judgments male and female high school students made when presented with scenarios describing incidents of possible student-to-student sexual harassment. Scenarios were generated to represent all combinations of three variables; gender composition of the dyad (male-to-female vs. female-to-male), status of the student-initiator (same-grade or different-grade) and type of behaviour, loosely based on Till's (1980) sexual harassment hierarchy. The vignettes were brief (about two lines each), and were presented to participants as "social scenarios" to avoid researcher bias. Judgments were also analysed in light of the respondent's gender and past experience of school-based sexual harassment.

Method

Participants

Five hundred and eighty nine students (303 males, 284 females and two who did not indicate their gender), from two Alberta high schools volunteered to participate in this study. The questionnaire was distributed within Career and Life Management (CALM) classes, which were open to senior students in grades 9 through 12. The mean age of subjects at the time of participation was 15.9 years (SD=1.39, range 13 to 22). Grade levels ranged from 9 through 12 (mean = 10.8, SD = 1.25). Most participants were either in grade 11(28%) or 12 (35%) at the time of participation.

Measures

Participants anonymously completed a one-page, double-sided questionnaire designed to gather information about how students judge the appropriateness of brief social vignettes (see Appendix B). The questionnaire asked for demographic details (age, gender, current grade), and inquired as to whether or not the student had been sexually harassed at school. Each questionnaire contained a series of brief scenarios, and students were asked to judge the appropriateness of the behaviour described using a five point Likert scale (ranging from very appropriate to very inappropriate).

Scenarios were developed to represent all possible combinations of the three target variables; gender composition of the dyad (male-to-female, female-to-male), status of the student-initiator (older grade or same grade) and type of behaviour (six levels: a sexist remark; non-verbal harassment including looks and

whistling; a direct sexual comment; sexual coercion; being touched in an uninvited and sexual way; and, a more serious sexual assault which described being cornered and touched all over). These combinations resulted in the generation of 24 unique scenarios (see Appendix D).

Each questionnaire presented six scenarios, one from each of the six behaviour levels. Of these, three scenarios described an interaction between students of the same grade and three scenarios described a student from an older grade interacting with a student from a younger grade. To "reduce the demand characteristics that arise when male and female behaviour is compared within a single questionnaire" (Loredo, Reid, & Deaux, 1995, p.34), the gender composition of the dyad was treated as a between subjects variable, such that half of the participants completed questionnaires describing male initiators and female targets and the other half completed questionnaires with female initiators and male targets. To avoid the effects of ordering the scenarios were presented in a randomized, counterbalanced sequence.

Procedure

Permission to approach students with the questionnaires was provided by school principals and classroom teachers. Student participation was voluntary and anonymous, with individual consent demonstrated through completion of the questionnaire. Students were given opportunity to withdraw their consent at any time without penalty, and could leave the entire survey, or specific questions blank if they wished to do so. The questionnaires were completed during class time, most often as an introduction to the issue of sexual harassment. Once completed,

questionnaires were gathered, sealed in envelopes and were returned by the school counsellor to the researcher.

Results

Descriptive Data

Completed questionnaires were returned by 589 students. An additional questionnaire was returned blank, and one other was completed by a classroom teacher; these two were not included in subsequent analyses. In response to the scenario questions the average student response was 3.96 (based on the five-point Likert scale: 1=very appropriate; 2=appropriate; 3=neutral; 4=inappropriate and 5=very inappropriate). There were no significant differences in overall levels of agreement between students of different grades ($F=1.44$, $p > 0.05$). Eleven percent (11%) of students indicated that they found at least one of the scenarios to be "very appropriate" and 25% found at least one to be "appropriate". Combined, 30% of students condoned at least one of the behaviours described on the survey.

Factorial Analysis

Five variables were examined to determine what impact they had upon students' judgements, namely; impact of gender of the respondent (male or female), gender composition of the dyad (male harassing a female or female harassing a male), respondents' past experience with sexual harassment at school (as self-reported on the questionnaire), status of the student-initiator (same grade student, or a student from an older grade) and type of behaviour (six levels, of increasing severity). Together these variables were analysed in a five-way, 2 x 2 x

2 x 2 x 6 analysis of variance (ANOVA). The results of the completed analysis including cell means are presented in Appendix E.

Level of harassment. The ANOVA on ratings of appropriateness indicated a significant effect of behaviour type (F=178.04, p<0.01). Overall, behaviours were rated as "inappropriate", but examination of cell means showed significant fluctuations in students' judgements. The non-verbal behaviours with sexual overtones (i.e. "whistling and giving him/her a good look up and down") received neutral ratings overall (mean = 3.15), while sexist comments (i.e. "you're pretty smart, for a girl/boy"), sexual comments (i.e. "I bet you're great in bed"), and being touched in a sexual way (i.e. putting ones "arms around her/his waist and backside") were considered inappropriate (means = 3.70, 3.94 and 4.04, respectively). The cases of sexual coercion (i.e. "you owe me and you know it") and sexual assault (i.e. "being cornered and touched all over") were judged to be the most inappropriate (means = 4.42 and 4.52, respectively).

Status of the initiator. The ANOVA on ratings of appropriateness did not yield a significant effect of student status (F=1.62, p>0.05). Behaviours initiated by students of the same grade (mean = 3.93) were generally judged to be equally inappropriate as those initiated by students in older grades (mean = 3.99). The analysis did reveal a significant three-way interaction between student status, gender of the respondent and harassment experience of the respondent (F=10.43, p<0.01) such that males who had been harassed showed a far greater acceptance for behaviours initiated by students of the same grade, as opposed to those initiated by a student in an older grade.

Sexual harassment background of the respondent. Analysis of student responses showed that those participants who reported experiencing school-based sexual harassment judged the scenarios differently than did those who reported no such experience ($F=63.0$, $p<0.01$). In general, those who had not been harassed found the scenarios to be more inappropriate than did those students who reported they had been sexually harassed (means = 4.00 and 3.82, respectively).

Gender composition of the student dyad. The gender composition of the scenarios had a significant impact upon the judgements students made concerning behaviour appropriateness ($F=229.24$, $p<0.01$). In all, students judged scenarios where males were shown behaving towards a female to be much more inappropriate (mean = 4.17) than those which showed a female behaving towards a male (mean = 3.69).

Gender of the respondent. The scenarios elicited significantly different responses from male and female students ($F=204.90$, $p<0.01$), where females were more likely to judge the behaviours as inappropriate (mean = 4.19) than were males (mean = 3.76). The gender of the respondent interacted significantly with other variables in three specific situations. There was a significant interaction between the respondents' gender and past experience with sexual harassment ($F=50.61$, $p<0.01$) such that females who had not been harassed judged the scenarios to be most inappropriate (mean = 4.21) and males who had been harassed judged the scenarios to be least inappropriate (mean = 3.09).

Males and females also answered differently depending on whether the gender dyad of the scenario depicted males harassing females or females

harassing males (F=16.39, p<0.01). The most inappropriate judgements were ascertained among the female group, when asked to judge scenarios which showed males harassing females (mean = 4.32). The least inappropriate judgements were made by male students judging scenarios where females were depicted harassing males (mean = 3.45). Male judgements of male-to-female dyads rivalled those made by female students concerning female-to-male dyads (means = 4.03 and 3.99 respectively).

Male and female students also made different judgements concerning the appropriateness of the behaviour depending on the type of behaviour described (F=8.52, p<0.01). Male and female students made similar judgements on scenarios which depicted sexism (means = 3.70 and 3.69 respectively). At all other behavioural levels though, female students were much more likely to judge the behaviour as inappropriate. Of these discrepancies, the greatest were obtained on scenarios which described sexual pressure (female and male averages 4.70 and 4.18 respectively) and sexual assault (4.82 and 4.26 respectively).

A three-way interaction between gender composition of the dyad, type of behaviour and gender of the respondent also reached significance (F=10.75, p<0.01). Examination of cell means revealed two noteworthy gender biases. First, female respondents showed a double standard when responding to scenarios which depicted sexism. When the initiator was male and the target was female, female students tended to judge the behaviour as inappropriate, but when the initiator was female and the target was male, these same female students judged the scenario as being more appropriate. Secondly, male respondents showed a

similar bias, judging female-to-male harassment as more appropriate at every behavioural level, with the exception of the sexist remark, where judgements were the same regardless of the gender composition of the student dyad.

The largest response discrepancy was found within the significant four way interaction between level of behaviour, student initiator status, gender of the respondent and previous self-reported harassment experience of the respondent ($F=3.12$, $p<0.01$). When responding to scenarios which depicted an older student sexually assaulting a younger student, females who had not been harassed judged the behaviour to be highly inappropriate while males who reported that they had been harassed considered it to be only somewhat inappropriate (means = 4.92 and 3.71 respectively).

Discussion

In this study, students' perceptions of potentially sexually harassing behaviours between high school peers were examined. Students were asked to make judgements about brief, social vignettes which described combinations of three variables; gender composition of the dyad, status of the student initiator, and type of potentially harassing behaviour. Results indicate that sexual harassment is perceived in significantly different ways, depending on the gender of the student respondent and the respondent's past experience with school-based sexual harassment. The gender of the hypothetical harasser and harassee, along with the type of behaviour described have a strong impact on how appropriate the behaviour was viewed to be. Status of the student initiator, that is, whether the

student was said to be in the same grade or an older grade did not have a significant impact on students' judgements. Findings from previous studies suggest that when the initiator is a person of formal, tangible authority, status makes a significant impact on whether or not a low-level behaviour is labelled as sexually harassing (Loredo et al., 1995). Among students however, such formal status is obsolete, and as this study suggests, grade status does not have the same kind of effect on student judgements.

Consistent with previous research findings (Adams et al., 1983; Loredo et al., 1995; Reilly et al., 1983; Till, 1980), respondents in this study were more likely to judge events as inappropriate when behaviours were intrusive. Specifically, non-verbal behaviours with sexual overtones (whistling and giving a good look up and down) were judged to be neutral; sexist remarks, sexual comments and low-grade sexual touching were judged to be inappropriate, and sexual coercion and sexual assault (i.e. more intrusive sexual touching) were judged to be highly inappropriate. Past investigations have also revealed that intrusive behaviours are more likely to be labelled sexual harassment (Adams et al., 1983; Reilly et al., 1983; Till, 1980). Students in this study tended to group the behaviours into three categories of appropriateness, while past researchers have proposed more complicated hierarchies (e.g., Adams et al., 1983; Till, 1980). For example, Till (1980) proposed that behaviours at the lowest end of the harassment continuum were sexist remarks and sexist behaviours, which he labelled as gender harassment. These were followed in turn by seductive behaviour, sexual bribery and sexual coercion. Results of this study suggest that for these high school students non-verbal sexual

behaviours actually rate lower in terms of appropriateness in comparison to sexist comments. If there is indeed a continuum of sexually harassing behaviours it is either fluid, or varies across individuals.

Behaviour level alone was not the only factor which impacted on students' judgements concerning the appropriateness of these social vignettes. In general, judgements of inappropriateness were more severe when the incident involved a male harassing a female, although those which described a female harassing a male were also considered to be inappropriate. Gender of the respondent also had a significant impact in the way the scenarios were judged. Females, on average, tended to be less accepting of the behaviours depicted in the social scenarios, results which are in line with previous research (Cochran et al., 1997; Jonhson et al., 1997; Strauss, 1988; Strouse et al., 1994; Reilly et al., 1982). The large gender discrepancy also refutes the assertion of Diezt-Mhler and Murrell (1992) who suggested that gender differences may be diminishing. It seems that males and females still have discrepant views of what constitutes appropriate behaviour among students.

Past experience of sexual harassment in the school also influenced the judgements students made concerning the brief scenarios. Of all sub-groups examined, males who said they had been sexually harassed tended to respond in an incongruous way. When the scenario depicted a female student harassing a male student, male respondents who had been harassed tended to judge the behaviour as significantly more appropriate than did males who had not been harassed and females in both groups. Females who had not been harassed

tended to find scenarios where males were depicted harassing a female to be the most inappropriate. The significant interaction between the level of the behaviour, the gender of the respondent, the respondents' own experience of sexual harassment and the grade status of the student initiator yielded some interesting findings. Results suggest that male and female students responded identically to scenarios which depicted sexist comments, regardless of the grade status of the student initiator, and regardless of their own personal experience with sexual harassment with the exception of one sub-group. Males who said they had experienced school-based sexual harassment tended to find the behaviour significantly more appropriate. It seems that the experience of being sexually harassed affects the way behaviours are perceived: Males who had been harassed tended to be more accepting of the behaviours described in the scenarios, while females who had not been harassed tended to be more stringent in their judgements. An obvious strength of this investigation then, was its focus on respondents' self-reported experience of school-based sexual harassment. Particularly for males, past experience of sexual harassment had a significant impact on their perception of potentially harassing behaviours.

When taken in its entirety, results of this study show that there is a discrepancy in the way that adolescents perceive potentially harassing behaviours. The type of behaviour, the gender of the student who is being harassed and the gender of the student who initiated the harassment all play a significant role in determining whether or not the behaviour is considered inappropriate. Results refute the idea that sexually harassing behaviours lie on a two dimensional

continuum, based mainly on the intrusiveness of the behaviour. Rather, from these results, one could speculate that sexual harassment as perceived by teenagers involves many more dimensions, including the personal experience of being sexually harassed at school.

These findings suggest many avenues of future study. A greater understanding of how students make meaning of sexual harassment, and how students distinguish sexually harassing behaviours from other offensive conduct would be beneficial. In future investigations, students may be asked directly for their definition or descriptions of sexual harassment. Alternatively, further experimental research may be conducted examining the effects of other potentially relevant variables on the judgements students make, such as the perceived popularity or attractiveness of the student initiator and student target. Student perceptions of harassing behaviours between same-gender peers also warrant further examination, as does sexual harassment among younger populations. Finally, school-based investigations which encourage students to share their personal experiences with school-based sexual harassment may be most beneficial, and may promote the development and use of effective prevention and intervention school programs.

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Chapter Five

Summary and Discussion

The three papers generated from this study together describe high school-based sexual harassment in two Alberta schools. While sexual harassment is not a new issue, it has only recently been examined among teenagers, and results indicate that workplace statistics and experiences of sexual harassment may not generalize to these younger populations. In an effort to better understand sexual harassment in the high school, this study was designed to examine the current literature, to generate descriptive statistics, and finally to investigate how the experience of sexual harassment is conceptualized by students.

Sexual harassment is a relatively new concept, but the behaviours captured under this heading have been in practice for centuries. The term became popularized in the late 1970s when the voices of working women were heard, and when, subsequently, their experiences of office-based harassment were examined (e.g., Farley, 1978). Early writings of sexual harassment conceptualized the experience as predominantly authority-based, with coercion and sexual bribery being an unfortunate consequence of a sexualized, co-ed work environment. In the school system, much of the harassment between children has also been traditionally dismissed or minimized as just 'boys being boys' (Shoop & Edwards, 1994). Sexual harassment is no longer conceptualized as an act of misguided sexual attention; similar to rape, sexual harassment is now understood to be based on issues of power and control and may best be characterized as an act of

aggression (Bogart & Stein, 1987; Hamilton, Alagna, King, & Lloyd, 1987; Lenhart, 1996; Stein, 1995). Effects of sexual harassment can be quite significant, and have been shown to impact on students' emotional well being, school behaviours and overall academic achievement (American Association of University Women (AAUW), 1993; Meyer, Bertold, Oestreich, & Collins, 1981; Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF), 1994; Shoop & Edwards, 1994). In the present day, schools are being held accountable and legally liable for failing to provide a learning environment that is safe for its students and staff (Wishnetsky, 1994). As a result, it is becoming increasingly important that school-based sexual harassment be studied and understood. In this climate, the current investigation of sexual harassment in the high school is timely and socially relevant.

Results from this investigation confirm that sexual harassment is a salient high school issue. Seventeen percent (17%) of students indicated that they had experienced sexual harassment at school, based on their own definition. When asked to describe their harassing experience(s), or a non-harassing experience that they found upsetting, students often referred to strikingly similar behavioural experiences. Thus, the experience of unwanted, offensive sexual attention is not sufficient to warrant the label of sexual harassment in all cases. Students may be unaware of what constitutes sexual harassment in the school and may benefit from awareness training and education.

When asked to make judgements about brief social scenarios, a similar finding emerged. Students tended to judge the scenarios as less acceptable when the behaviour was physically intrusive, but other variables also impacted on their

judgements. Taken together, these results support the conclusion that sexual harassment is largely a perceptual issue, and personal definitions tend to be fluid depending on the situation at hand. In comparison to past studies with teenage populations (e.g., AAUW, 1993; OSSTF, 1994) incidence results from this investigation are much lower than would have been expected. Past surveys have typically relied on behavioural checklists and fixed behavioural definitions to measure the frequency of sexual harassment in schools. However, according to the results of this current study, the line between what is 'offensive' and what is 'harassing' is individually drawn. Sexual harassment cannot be defined in terms of behaviours alone.

Although some have asserted that sexual harassment only affects females in our society (e.g., Herbert, 1992), results of this survey refute that claim. Both male and female high school students reported that they had experienced school-based sexual harassment. The response patterns of the males who said they had been harassed were quite distinct, and results suggest males' experience of sexual harassment warrants further study. Among males who had been harassed, 60% said that sexual harassment was not a problem in their school, and 30% said it was not a problem outside of school. About one quarter of these males also indicated that the target of sexual harassment usually deserves that attention. Overall, these findings reflect a degree of guilt or self-blame on the part of male victims. Male students who reported being harassed also were more likely to condone harassing behaviours when the initiator was female and the target was male, and in some cases also condoned harassing behaviours between same-grade peers.

Particularly for males, the past experience of being sexually harassed at school seems to affect how cases of potential sexual harassment are perceived.

In comparison to what is known about harassment in the workplace, in the high school, sexual harassment manifests itself quite differently. Although teachers harass their students, and students harass their teachers, sexual harassment between students is most common (AAUW, 1993; OSSTF, 1994). In the absence of a formal power hierarchy, students seem to draw on other resources to exert power and aggression upon one another. Extremely intrusive forms of sexual harassment are reported in the high school, but most of the sexually harassing behaviours that occur involve relatively low-levels of intrusion. Single incidents of these low-level sexually harassing behaviours are not likely to be construed as sexual harassment. However, when they occur in high frequency, a hostile learning environment may be created. When making judgements about potentially sexually harassing situations, adolescents polled through this study were impacted by the gender composition of the dyad, the type of behaviour involved and their own personal experience of being sexually harassed at school. Past theories based on two-dimensional behavioural continua do not fit well with the labelling process employed by these students. Students took a multifaceted approach in defining what was acceptable and what was not, where the type of behaviour was considered in combination with other salient factors.

The results of this investigation suggest several potential areas for continuing study. The perception of sexual harassment is complex, and further examination of how students conceptualize sexual harassment would certainly add

to the existing literature. Likely other factors beyond those considered here influence the judgements students make when faced with ambiguous or potentially harassing situations. For example, student status may differ in terms of perceived attractiveness or popularity, and these warrant further study. The variance observed between studies using different research paradigms is striking, and future investigators may consider incorporating such variation as part of their research design. Altering the way that questions are asked (e.g., self assessment of sexual harassment vs. behavioural checklists) within a single study would allow for direct comparison of methodological styles. Sexual harassment between peers may also involve same-gender harassment, an area that remains relatively unaddressed to date in the literature.

With respect to prevention and intervention, targeting sexual harassment in the high school need not be confined to the upper echelons of educational administration. Within the classroom teachers are encouraged to use inclusive language and to choose materials which dispel traditional sex-role stereotypes. Students can be encouraged to discuss issues related to sexual harassment and gender relations, and may be given time to process some of their own experiences. Students can be encouraged to monitor their own environment, create their own teen surveys and report the findings to their class or school. Perhaps the most effective lessons are acquired through positive role-modelling, where healthy boundaries, respectful behaviour and personal empowerment are consistently demonstrated to students by instructors. Given that gender sensitivity is largely determined during adolescence (Lee, Marks, & Byrd, 1994), these daily lessons

take on added importance.

Students have generally indicated that their knowledge of school policy regarding sexual harassment and specific procedures for reporting complaints are weak (AAUW, 1993; OSSTF, 1994), and thus frequent dissemination of this information is essential. Students' understanding of what constitutes sexual harassment may also be weak, and thus education directed at increasing student awareness would be beneficial to students and staff. School boards have been advised to avoid lengthy policy manuals that attempt to capture all possible incidents of sexual harassment, since no one definition can be expected to hold for everyone in all cases. Students may benefit from specific examples of sexual harassment, but otherwise policy may best be kept brief (Gregory, 1993). Schools are also advised to keep up to date with emerging investigations of sexual harassment in educational settings, and may choose to instigate studies of their own to monitor the problem in their own hallways and classrooms. Sexual harassment is an issue affecting students, and its impact can be detrimental to students' development, but it is also an issue that can be understood and prevented.

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Appendix A: Ethical Approval

96

October 7, 1996

From: Department of Educational Psychology
Research and Ethics Committee

The Research and Ethics Committee of the Department of Educational Psychology has reviewed the attached proposal and finds it acceptable with respect to ethical matters.

Applicants: Dr. Peter Calder on behalf of Janet L. Browne (graduate student).

Title: Sexual Harassment in the High Schools: An Experimental Analog Study.

Participating Agency(ies):

Recommended Change: Researcher to ensure that participants understand that if they do not fill out questionnaire they will not be penalized in any way.

pm Mulcahy
Chairman or Designate, Research and Ethics Committee

Oct 8/96
Date

Department of Educational Psychology Ethics Review
Description of Project and Procedures for Observing Ethical Guidelines

PLEASE PROVIDE 2 COPIES OF THIS DOCUMENT TO THE CHAIR, RESEARCH COMMITTEE, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Project Title: Sexual Harassment in the High Schools: An Experimental Analog Study

Project Deadlines:

Date by which project approval is desired: October 15

Starting Date: October 30 **Ending Date:** February 15

Applicant(s):

Principal Investigator: Janet L. Browne

University Status: Ph.D. Candidate

University Address: 6-141D, Education North, Department of Ed. Psych.

University Telephone: 492-5245 or 437-2730 (home)

If the principal investigator is a student, please provide the following information:

If the research project is for a thesis or dissertation, has the applicant's Supervisory Committee approved the project? Yes: ✓ **No:** ____

Name of Academic Advisor (or instructor if a course project)

Dr. Peter Calder

University Address: 6th Floor, Education North, Dept. of Ed. Psych.

University Telephone: 492-3696

Signature of Principal Investigator. In case of a graduate student, signature of faculty advisor.

Signature of Graduate Student(if applicable) ✓

Sept 25/96
Date

Appendix B: Sample Questionnaire

Introduction. This questionnaire asks you to judge whether social situations are appropriate or inappropriate. There are also a few questions (on the other side) which ask about your opinions and experiences. This questionnaire is part of a research project being conducted by Janet Browne, at the University of Alberta. Filling out this questionnaire is STRICTLY VOLUNTARY. There is no penalty for choosing not to fill this out. By completing this questionnaire, you have demonstrated your consent to participate in this study. Thank you.

Age: _____ Grade: _____ Male ___ Female ___

Christopher was talking with Beth, a younger student, after class. He winked and told her to come out with him that night. She said she wasn't interested in sleeping with him. He leaned closer and said, "don't give me that, you owe me and you know it".

1 very appropriate 2 appropriate 3 neutral 4 inappropriate 5 very inappropriate

---

Melissa was standing outside on school property during a fire drill when Tim, a student from her grade, approached her. As she started to move away from him, he put his arms around her waist and touched her backside.

1 very appropriate 2 appropriate 3 neutral 4 inappropriate 5 very inappropriate

---

Erica, a grade ten student was standing at the back of the gym hanging up her bag when Martin, a senior student came up behind her. He backed her into a corner and started touching her all over.

1 very appropriate 2 appropriate 3 neutral 4 inappropriate 5 very inappropriate

---

Brian was standing with Susan outside of their classroom when he saw the test grade she held in her hand. He looked at her and said, "hey, you're pretty smart - for a woman".

1 very appropriate 2 appropriate 3 neutral 4 inappropriate 5 very inappropriate

---

Neil and Diane were paired together to work on an assignment. During their discussion, Neil told her that he thought she'd be great in bed.

1 very appropriate 2 appropriate 3 neutral 4 inappropriate 5 very inappropriate

---

On the way to the bathroom, Katherine walked by a group of boys from her class. As she passed by, they whistled at her, smirked and gave her a "good look" up and down.

1 very appropriate 2 appropriate 3 neutral 4 inappropriate 5 very inappropriate

---

People who are sexually harassed usually deserve it.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

I think that sexual harassment is a problem in our school.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

I think that sexual harassment is a problem outside of school.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

Have you ever been sexually harassed at school? Yes ____ No ____

If "yes", how many times in the past 12 months? _____

If you have been sexually harassed at school, please describe your experience (below).

If you have NOT been sexually harassed, please describe a situation which made you feel uncomfortable.

Appendix C:
Additional Student Responses

Section One: Responses to Question A: If you have been sexually harassed at school, please describe your experience.

1. By a teacher in gym. He thought guys were better and girls weren't good enough to play anything. (Female-9-13)[1]
2. Guys saying "oh, you've got such a nice body, can I touch your butt" and other parts. Guys asking other guys if they think I'm sexy and saying "would your fuck her?" (Female-9-14)
3. He grabs me all over, then pulls down my pants and butt fucks me. (Male-9-14)
4. Friends just make jokes and slap girl's butts, but it doesn't bother us because they are friends. But if they aren't we usually feel gross, and want to lip them off. (Female-10-15)
5. A very low feeling about your self, and you will tend to keep more to your self. (Female-10-16)
6. I was supposed to help sell milk with a guy friend and we had to go to the storage room to get the milk, and he would try to get stuff from me, but I would turn him down. (Female-10-15)
7. A girl would put her hand on my upper thigh (Male-11-15)
8. Once at this school, a couple of times at another by the same guy... I was sitting at a school pep rally and some guys sitting behind me were swearing, and using these words in a sexual way, talking about me. "you know you want to F--- her". (Female-10-15)
9. It wasn't at this school, but it was a guy from school. We were at a party and he wasn't going to take no for an answer, I did get away, one of my friends walked around the corner (Female-10-16)
10. Guys calling me names like slut, hoar [whore], etc. (Female-10-15)
11. When some guy put me over his shoulder for everyone to smack my butt. (Female-10-15)
12. One day when I was walking down the hall, a certain young man, who I have talked to before, started making derogative comments to me like "nice ass bitch" then as he walked by me, he touched my behind. (Female-11-16)
13. Just walking down the hallway people call me names and call my friends names. they used to be our friends. They make fun of the way we look and act, saying, "slut, hoar [whore]", etc. I hate it. (Female-10-14)
14. Usually just name calling, whistling but usually nothing really physical. (Female-10-15)
15. I was scared (Male-10-15)
16. All that happens is when you walk down the hall, guys will look you up and down and will sometimes say something. or else people will just say really lude comments just for the hey. (Female-10-14)

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[1] Please note: Parentheses include the gender, grade and age of the student respondent.

17. One time somebody (guys) slapped my behind and told me I would look great in skin tight black leather. (Female-11-15)
18. Guys whistle as I walk down the hall. (Female-9-14)
19. People usually just kid around. Some people just taunt & bug others, some people are really gross and sick. If hard to tell if they are kidding! (Female-11-15)
20. Physical contact and language (Male-11-16)
21. Yes, the girl came up and started touching my ass then she went down my pants. I told her to stop and she wouldn't so I felt very uncomfortable. (Male-12-17)
22. Boys make rude remarks at me when I pass them sometimes. (Female-11-17)
23. People grab us, and our butts, tell us we're hot and look at us. (Female-9-13)
24. Just some of my guy friends being stupid. (Female-9-13)
25. Nice Butt (Male-10-15)
26. Walking down the hall at a new school, some guy pulled me over and said "how about a date?" when I said get lost, he gave me a kiss and said you don't know what you're missing. (Female-11-17)
27. Ass grabbing, asked to go have sex at lunch, etc. (Female-11-16)
28. touched inappropriately. (Female-12-17)
29. A sports person touched me in the locker room. (Male-12-17)
30. Pinched on butt, no big deal. (Male-9-14)
31. With the "bitch slap" thing; guys cutting girls down; our school is pretty good, not much. (Female-12-17)
32. I don't feel comfortable describing it. (Male-12-17)
33. Grade 8 - one of my classmates physically harassed me and said inappropriate things to me during and after school. I told the school counsellor and it was dealt with accordingly., (Female-12-17)
34. Many - taunting, teasing, joking, rumours, etc. (Female-11-15)
35. With an ex-boyfriend (Female-11-16)
36. Two-older boys pushed me into their change room and ripped my shirt off and one held me while the other raped me. They told me not to tell or they would kill me. I don't care if they kill me anymore, maybe it will end the nightmares. (Female-11-16)
37. When this guy liked me he cornered me in the hallway and touched me a couple of times, then kissed my neck. That was my experience. (Female-11-16)
38. I'd rather not discuss it. (Male-12-18)
39. I was outside in the parking lot having a cigarette when a girl that liked me came up to me and grabbed me. (Male-12-17)
40. Comments, advances, whistling, it hurts, uncomfortable and scary. (Female-12-18)
41. This guys that came to the mall seem to be everywhere I go making retarded comments and one time they showed up at the school and were following me and making comments. (Female-12-17)
42. Walking in the halls and having guys say stuff about my breasts. Or staring at

places where they shouldn't be. (Female-12-17)

43. I like it. (Female-11-16)
44. I liked it. (Male-10-18)
45. Some guys touch me or pinch me. (Female-11-16)
46. A guy came and slapped me on the bum, and it wasn't a joke. (Female-11-16)
47. A girl was standing in front of me naked. and I was wearing silk boxers. (Male-12-17)
48. Said I'd be good in bed, grabbing my ass, whistling, putting his harms around me, etc. etc. (Female-10-15)
49. I was in language arts class. These guys sat in front of me and behind me. The one in front tried to touch my chest. The one in back repeatedly undid my bra and then offered to do it back up. He also would try to touch me. Outside of class the guy who sat behind me would grope me and take me into the corner. His hands went up my shirt, despite my protests. (Female-11-16)
50. In one incident an older guy in my class came up behind me and began rubbing my ass and genitalia it was very uncomfortable. Also I have been approached by my math teacher with a kiss. I punched him. (Male-11-16)
51. A girl touched my penis and it hurt because she squeezed hard. A girl took advantage of my friend. Males bias here... why all examples are against boys - male bashers - I hate you. (Male-9-15)
52. Enjoyed it intensely. (Male-12-18)
53. I was talking to this guy and all of a sudden he backed me into a corner and started touching me (It was my ex-boyfriend), but I still never liked it. (Female-12-17)
54. Once a female school mate informed me of her upcoming birthday. She then proceeded to tell me that she wanted to have sex with me for a birthday present. (Male-12-17)
55. One time the football team started to touch me all over. (Male-11-16)
56. Guys getting the wrong idea, being pigs. Thinking that they are superior and can do and say what they want because they are male. (Female-11-17)
57. Starring, whistling, saying gross offensive stuff, in grade nine there was a lot of touching, it made me feel uncomfortable. (Female-11-16)
58. A guy tried to rape me at a party one weekend, the following Monday he backed me into a corner and said "hey girlie do you remember me?" (Female-10-14)
59. I was walking with a bunch of my friends when a few of them ganged up on me and touched me. (Female-12-17)
60. Just harassed by guys. I was walking home from work one night, and I passed this guy in his car and he was masturbating. This has happened about 5 times to me. (Female-12-17)
61. A guy on my bus tried to fondle a lot, until I told a 39 year friend of mine. (Female-11-15)

62. I've never been sexually harassed to the point that I've been scared for my safety. Usually it's just friends bugging me about my breasts. In my books, I wouldn't look at it as sexual harassment because they're friends, but legally it is sexual harassment. (Female-12-17)
63. I was in an industrial arts class in junior high, and a male student came up behind me and grabbed my breasts. I ran out of the class room. (Female-11-17)
64. I was standing in the hallway (of my old school) and a guy came up and touched me, took me in a bear hug and said "Hey baby". I managed to get away , then punched him to keep him away. I got suspended, he got nothing. (Female-12-18)
65. People whistling, looking up and down, making comments. (Female-15-11)
66. Guys have made comments. (Female-9-14)
67. He was a pervert. In grade 8 he would make snide remarks to me and my friends about our body parts, and what he would do to us if he got us alone and in the dark. Occasionally he would grope our butts and boobs. It was absolutely raunchie as hell. So was he. We told our sex ed teacher and he (the perv) almost got suspended but we told him too late. We told Mr. S. (sex ed teacher) on the last day of school. The perv said sorry and he never did it anymore, for a while, because he matured, got a girlfriend and had to dump her because he moved somewhere else, but I forget. (Female-10-15)
68. I have been sort of harassed. In grade 8 this guy used to grab my butt and feel my legs. He always whistled and called me sexy. (Female-10-15)
69. One guy in particular kept on touching me and saying things about my body and saying rude, sexual things to me and about me. (Female-11-16)
70. This guy kept on telling me he wanted to sleep with me last year. I told him I wasn't interested he kept on bugging me about it. My boyfriend got mad, and told him to leave me alone or he'd kick his butt... he finally left me alone. (Female-12-17)
71. A big husky woman grabbed me and rammed my head into her crotch and said eat and I ended up suffocated. (Male-11-16)
72. One time the football team started touching me all over. My teacher turned me on and I spunked in my shorts. (Male-11-17)
73. I was a grade 10 student and a senior walked up to me and... (Female-12-18)

Section Two: Responses to Question B: If you have not been sexually harassed while at school, please describe a situation that made you feel uncomfortable.

1. At a party - just broken up with someone, one guy wanted me to fool around with him - told him no. (Female-11-16)
2. Don't cry over spilt milk! (Female-12-18)
3. Guys come up to me and makes rude comments about legs and implies removal of clothing to better show off legs. (Female-12-17)
4. When a car full of guys drives up and whistle and say rude things to her. (Female-12-17)
5. It's more of a cliché: People tease me constantly because I am not interested in dating at this time. (Male-9-14)
6. seeing a girl being called derogatory things by a bunch of older guys. (Male-12-17)
7. When guys laugh and smile as you walk by and you don't know what they're laughing at; when someone says something to another girl, but I don't say anything because I don't want to be ridiculed. (Female-12-16)
8. When I got 4% on a test. (Male-12-17)
9. I was sexually harassed at the bar and am still living with it today. (Female-12-17)
10. I had good friends both male and female and they never make me feel uncomfortable. As for other people, they don't bother me and I don't bother them. If they make a comment, I ignore it. (Female-11-16)
11. a friend of mine who is a girl, has had a bunch of loser guys keep calling her, being rude and making her feel bad about herself and who she is. (Male-12-17)
12. Older student asking for dates, inappropriate wording, sometimes can't take no for an answer. (Female-11-16)
13. Only when there are people around me I don't know at all. (Male-12-17)
14. A teacher that favors girls and makes sexist comments. (Female-12-18)
15. When I'm sitting down with other people and my ----- gets stuck between my legs, and I can't adjust them because people are there, that hurts! (Male-12-17)
16. No one has ever done anything like that to me before. (Female-9-14)
17. When some older guys started to whistle at me and say lots of dirty stuff. (Female-9-14)
18. There aren't many situations that make me uncomfortable. My friends are mostly guys and we have very physical relationships (hugs, friendly punches, kicks in the butt, etc.). I feel very comfortable with men, until they don't stop when I tell them to, but that hasn't happened to me yet. (Female-11-16)
19. When others are sexually harassed in my presence, I feel uncomfortable. (Male-9-14)
20. I always feel comfortable at school. (Female-11-16)
21. When me and some of my friends were making fun of each other and one made rude comments about me and another girl. (Male-9-14)
22. Getting pushed around a little. (Male-11-17)

23. A girl I don't know well tickling my waist. (Male-11-16)
24. I've been vomited upon 37 times - not fun. (Male-11-16)
25. Some guys just say stupid things or make disgusting gestures, but I know they are joking- it still bothers me though. (Female-11-16)
26. Sometimes certain guys just make rude comments when you walk by them. (Female-11-16)
27. Working in a group in class with nothing but girls. (Male-12-16)
28. I came to school. (Male-11-16)
29. Being asked to do something I didn't want to. (Female-10-15)
30. Who cares? it ever happen (Male-10-15)
31. The jokes ore the way some guys talk about girls in a sexual way. (Female-11-16)
32. I've felt uncomfortable when teachers get to close while they're standing at your desk. (Female-10-15)
33. Walking past a younger crowed of guys who are very immature and make rude comments. (Female-12-17)
34. When talking with people then walking away and they start talking about me behind my back. (Male-11-17)
35. I was at a party, buys started so sexually harass some one I know, that they know too. I felt uncomfortable because sexual harassment is wrong and I am a gentleman always around women. (Male-10-15)
36. A situation that made me feel uncomfortable when I'm walking down the street and some guys rolled down their window and started whistling and say rude comments. (Female-10-15)
37. People were making fun of me and were saying I was heavy (weight). I didn't know what to say. (Female-10-15)
38. A friend I know was abused by her Uncle at a young age, when she was spending the weekend there. He was drinking too much and she was sleeping. (Male-10-14)
39. When we were younger, and first started wearing bras, the boys snapped them. (Female-10-15)
40. I was walking down the hall and I heard a group of guys say this one girl had great breasts. (Female-10-15)
41. When somebody said "you're developing quite well". (Female-9-13)
42. Not in this school, but in my last school - a teacher was staring at me and I was in a tight shirt. (Female-9-13)
43. Having heard some girls in my class say that they thought our gym teacher was looking everyone "up and down" I started to feel uncomfortable every time he looked at me. (Female-9-15)
44. Telling my parents I failed a test (Female-9-14)
45. Someone once told me I was "one for the boys" (Female-9-13)
46. I hate taking co-ed sex-ed. (Male-9-13)
47. When I'm with my boyfriend and we're making out... sometimes he pushes me to sleep with him. (Female-10-15)

48. I remember in grades 7&8 the boys thought it was cool to snap girls bras. I had that happen to me quite a lot, it made me feel uncomfortable. (Female-11-17)
49. Public showers (Male-10-16)
50. When I was walking with my friend, and these strangers said "Hey baby". It was dark, the first thought which came to my mind was ignore and walk fast away, not to panic. (Female-10-15)
51. When ever I walk past a group of immature, perverted little creeps (guys). (Female-10-15)
52. When a teacher tried to look down my shirt. (Female-11-16)
53. When some chick like looked at this thing, and I said "Hey baby", and she kicked me in the groin, and it was uncomfortable. she said "all men are pigs". (Male-10-15)
54. When the teachers grab me. (Male-11-17)
55. When other people put other people down about their appearance. (Male-12-17)
56. When a teacher made an inappropriate remark in class. (Female-11-15)
57. When guys bugged me about being flat. (Female-11-16)
58. I only feel a little uncomfortable when I am checked up and down when any guy passes me (it happens often). (Female-9-14)
59. Just as a guy was getting too touchy with me, and talking inappropriately to me... etc. (Female-10-15)
60. Walking by a group of boys when you think you are ugly. (Female-9-14)
61. The football team made me pick up the soap; a female came on to me instead of a man. (Male-11-16)
62. Thre was one person who really creeped me out because of the way he was always hanging around me. Stopping me in the hallway demanding that I call him. I ended up telling him to leave me alone, and that I wasn't interested in him. (Female-12-16)
63. Guys checking you out, in the halls or sitting a little too close. (Female-12-17)
64. I feel uncomfortable when guys I don't know approach me and touch me on any part of my body. Maybe cause I am new to this school but I still feel uncomfortable. (Female-12-17)
65. During grade 10 P.E. all the guys were commenting during and after that time about the girls bodies. (Female-11-16)
66. A strange boy whom I have never seen before waits at the bus stop each day at the same time I do. He always sits 6 feet to the left of me, if he can. Each time I look up to see if the bus is coming, he's staring at me. At first I thought it was a coincidence that he was looking in my direction, but this occurred more than once. (Female-12-18)
67. When a boy comes up and sits beside you and puts his arm on your shoulder. (Female-9-14)
68. People who use disrespectful words and actions around me. (Female-9-14)
69. Not many situations make me feel uncomfortable. I can tell you when a guy is coming on to me and I just leave! (Female-9-13)

70. People whistling at you makes you feel uncomfortable and low, and lots of people do it. (Female-9-13)
71. Can't really say I've felt uncomfortable, but I've kinda been pressed into doing something that I didn't really want to get in to. (gender, age and grade not indicated)
72. Having to speak in front of the class. (Male-12-17)
73. When a guy wouldn't stop tickling me. (Female-9-14)
74. Just seeing other people int he hallway kissing and touching each other at school (Female-9-13)
75. I was at my friend's place and there were a couple of girls there. One of them told me she had to talk to me privately. I went along with it and when we were alone, she tole me she loved me and wanted to have sex, but I didn't so I told her that. (Male-11-17)
76. When I was walking down a hall and some girls yelled some stuff. (Male-11-16)
77. Guys looking and whistling at you like your a dog. (Female-10-15)
78. Being looked at in a 'certain' way, or overhearing comments that made me feel uncomfortable. (Female-12-17)
79. Prejudice is my problem. People look at me and stereotype me as a redneck. I am a red neck and I am proud of it. But the name-callers call me white supremacist and racist/bigoted. "Because all rednecks are racist and carry guns." (quote from a classmate). (Male-12-18)
80. I have been sexually harassed, but not at school. (Female-12-17)
81. When a girl looks me up and down or says something I take it as either a joke or a compliment. (Male-12-17) [other comments were written elsewhere on the questionnaire] - These people flaunt it, I won't say anything, but what do they expect? People who say things are always joking. There isn't a crowd to laugh at the teasing outside of school.
82. When a student was bent on getting in to a fight with me, and I did not want to. (Male-12-17)
83. I think men are harassed also, and should be included in the questions as victims also. (Female-12-17)
84. One time a guy tried to pass me. (Male-9-14)
85. Don't remember any time. Male bashers. (Male-9-14)
86. One time when my principle put his arm around me in the dark room where I was developing pictures. (gender, grade and age not disclosed)
87. When you walk down the hallway and you hear boys saying rude sexual comments about you. (Female-11-16)
88. Accidentally walking into a gay bar. (Male-11-16)
89. Guy coming up and touching me all over. (Female-11-16)
90. When someone makes sexual comments towards me. (Male-11-16)
91. When this guy in my gym class sat and watched guys coming out of the shower. (Male-11-16)
92. Girls who surround you and touch your butt, (Male-11-16)

93. I was out doing my papers on a Saturday morning when a man on my route got my attention and told me to come look in his bedroom but I didn't. (Female-11-15)
94. When a couple of my boyfriend's friends like to get a little touchy sometimes. (Female-12-18)
95. When guys stand and whistle at you if you are pretty and if you are not they bark at you! (Female-12-18)
96. People saying things that are to be kept inside. (Male-9-14)
97. Women running after me screaming something. (Male-9-14)
98. Nobody has done something I haven't wanted done, because I'm the type of person who'll smack them upside the head and tell them to Female--- off. (Female-11-16)
99. When a guy has come up and put his arm around me in a kidding way. (gender, grade and age not disclosed)
100. When male teachers lean over too closely. (Female-9-14)
101. When a boyfriend wanted to do stuff and I didn't. (Female-9-14)
102. There was this time that I was talking with guy friends and they began to make gross comments about some girls they know (the girls weren't there). (Female-9-14).
103. A situation that makes me uncomfortable is walking through the front hallway at lunch. (Female-9-15)
104. No, I haven't been sexually harassed by anyone at school. I don't like people calling me names and put downs and people telling me that I can't do those things. (Female-12-18)
105. Not with me but with my girlfriend; we were standing in line to get Garth Brooks tickets and I had to go to the washroom. When I came back, there were these two young guys, probably about my age, making sexist comments about her. Needless to say I took care of the problem. (Male-13-17)
106. A girl looked at my buttocks. (Male-9-14)
107. A wedgie/melvin. (Male-9-14)
108. A really overweight girl gave me googly eyes. (Male-12-19)
109. The only time that I have ever felt uncomfortable is when guys pretend to go fag on me. (Male-12-17)
110. Nothing makes me uncomfortable, unless it's a guy. (Male-11-16)
111. When guys constantly talk about my chest. (Female-11-15)
112. When girls drive by and say stupid things that go with sexual harassment. (Male-9-14)
113. Getting picked on. (Male-9-14)
114. Once I was in a really hot room and the heat was uncomfortable. (Male-12-17)
115. Filing out this useless thing. (Female-11-16)
116. When guys feel the need to comment on various parts of your anatomy. (Female-12-17)
117. Girls raping guys happens more often than the vice versa. (Male-12-17)
118. Being sexually harassed outside of school. (Female-12-17)
119. Don't want to answer this question. (Female-12-18)

120. Walking down a main street in town and have guys drive by whistling, then coming back 3 or 4 more times. (Female-12-17)
121. None, because I'm open. (Female-12-17)
122. Sitting in this desk. (Male-12-18)
123. Yes, to an extent. The usually guy whistles, grabbing on the butt, cat calls, and stuff. I have never been in a situation where I can't handle it. I don't put up with that crap. (Female-12-18)
124. People that talk about what they have "done' with other people. (Female-11-16)
125. This is dumb. It's all about guys harassing girls - guys get it too! (Female-12-16)
126. My experiences have mostly been outside of school. (Female-12-18)
127. My desk chair had no back-rest, that was uncomfortable. (Male-9-14)
128. Wedgy. (Male-9-14)
129. A teacher was leaning his testicles on the table of mine when 3 other girls were at my table in grade 6. (Male-12-16)
130. A situation that makes me mad is that people say guys always sexually harass. They all don't. But some girls do, people don't realize it. (Male-12-17)

Section Three: These responses were made by students spontaneously; they were not directly answering Question A or B.

1. If somebody came up and started touching me all over (Male-9-14)
2. I would be uncomfortable if some guy was touching me when I didn't even know him, or hated his guts. (Female-10-15)
3. If someone cornered me and tried to touch me. (Female-10-15)
4. I haven't been in to many uncomfortable situations. The most "sexual" harassment is when people are joking around and you can tell they are. (Female-10-15)
5. I think it's important to realize that when women sexually harassment it's not as serious a situation. that may sound kind of unjust, but it's true. Men are more physically powerful for the most part, and can usually do far more harm to women then women can do to men. I have sexually harassed. Not extremely, just a little bit. and that shocked me and made me feel extremely uncomfortable. A little bit is far too much. There's a fine line between flirting and harassment and I try hard not to cross it. (Male-11-16)
6. Knowing that other people is being sexually harassed. (Male-10-15)

Section Four: Unclassified

1. When a male throw me into the boys washroom and won't let me out for a while. (Female-12-17)

Appendix D: The Scenarios

Behavioural level one.

Brian was standing with Susan outside of their classroom when he saw the test grade she held in her hand. He looked at her and said, "hey, you're pretty smart - for a woman".

Colin (a senior) was standing in line with Kathy, a younger student, when he saw the test grade she held in her hand. He looked at her and said, "hey, you're pretty smart - for a woman".

Catherine was standing with Mark outside of their classroom when she saw the test grade he held in his hand. She looked at him and said, "hey, you're pretty smart - for a man".

Shawna (a senior) was standing in line with Peter, a younger student, when she saw the test grade he held in his hand. She looked at him and said, "hey, you're pretty smart - for a man".

Behavioural level two.

On the way to the bathroom, Katherine walked by a group of boys from her class. As she passed by, they whistled at her, smirked and gave her a "good look" up and down.

On the way to the bathroom, Jill walked by a group of older boys. As she passed by, they whistled at her, smirked and gave her a "good look" up and down.

On the way to the bathroom, Paul walked by a group of girls from his class. As he passed by, they whistled at him, smirked, and gave him a "good look" up and down.

On the way to the bathroom, Justin walked by a group of older girls. As he passed by, they whistled at him, smirked and gave him a "good look" up and down.

Behavioural level three.

Neil and Diane were paired together to work on an assignment. During their discussion, Neil told her that he thought she'd be great in bed.

John and Louise were paired together to work on a senior-junior student assignment. During their discussion, John told her that he thought she'd be great in bed.

Lucy and David were paired together to work on an assignment. During their discussion, Lucy told him that she thought he'd be great in bed.

Darlene and Rob were paired together to work on a senior-junior student assignment. During their discussion, Darlene told him that she thought he'd be great in bed.

Behavioural level four.

Gina was standing outside on school property during a fire drill when Tom, a student in an upper grade approached her. As she started to move away from him, he put his arms around her waist and touched her backside.

Melissa was standing outside on school property during a fire drill when Tim, a student from her grade, approached her. As she started to move away from him, he put his arms around her waist and touched her backside.

Jeremy was standing outside on school property during a fire drill when Carla, a student from an upper grade approached him. As he started to move away from her, she put her arms around his waist and touched his backside.

Dale was standing outside on school property during a fire drill when Rose, a student from his grade, approached him. As he started to move away from her, she put her arms around his waist and touched his backside.

Behavioural level five.

Jonathan was talking with Tina after their class. He winked and told her to come out with him that night. She said she wasn't interested in sleeping with him. He leaned closer and said, "don't give me that, you owe me and you know it".

Christopher was talking with Beth, a younger student, after class. He winked and told her to come out with him that night. She said she wasn't interested in sleeping with him. He leaned closer and said, "don't give me that, you owe me and you know it".

Jennifer was talking with Jack after their class. She winked and told him to come out with her that night. He said he wasn't interested in sleeping with her. She leaned closer and said, "don't give me that, you owe me and you know it".

Meranda was talking with Allan, a younger student, after class. She winked and told him to come out with her that night. He said he wasn't interested in sleeping with her. She leaned closer and said, "don't give me that, you owe me and you know it".

Behavioural level six

Jessica was standing at the back of the gym hanging up her bag when a classmate, Paul, came up behind her. He backed her into a corner and started touching her all over.

Erica, a grade ten student was standing at the back of the gym hanging up her bag when Martin, a senior student came up behind her. He backed her into a corner and started touching her all over.

Jason was standing at the back of the gym hanging up his bag when a classmate, Heather, came up behind him. She backed him into a corner and started touching him all over.

Keith, a grade ten student was standing at the back of the gym hanging up his bag when Maria, a senior student came up behind him. She backed him into a corner and started touching him all over.

Appendix E:
Analysis of Variance Tables with Corresponding Cell Means

ANOVA[a]

			Experimental Method				
			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
RESPONSE	3-Way Interactions	(Combined)	78.517	34	2.309	2.816	.000
		BH * GENDER * HARR_IN	8.185	5	1.637	1.996	.076
		BH * GENDER * TARGET	44.077	5	8.815	10.748	.000
		BH * GENDER * GRD	6.922	5	1.384	1.688	.134
		BH * HARR_IN * TARGET	2.780	5	.556	.678	.640
		BH * HARR_IN * GRD	.679	5	.136	.166	.975
		BH * TARGET * GRD	3.861	5	.772	.941	.453
		GENDER * HARR_IN * TARGET	.608	1	.608	.742	.389
		GENDER * HARR_IN * GRD	8.598	1	8.598	10.483	.001
		GENDER * TARGET * GRD	9.244E-02	1	9.244E-02	.113	.737
		HARR_IN * TARGET * GRD	1.705	1	1.705	2.079	.149
	4-Way Interactions	(Combined)	21.134	21	1.006	1.227	.216
		BH * GENDER * HARR_IN * TARGET	1.136	5	.227	.277	.926
		BH * GENDER * HARR_IN * GRD	12.882	5	2.576	3.141	.008
		BH * GENDER * TARGET * GRD	3.776	5	.755	.921	.466
		BH * HARR_IN * TARGET * GRD	5.291	5	1.058	1.290	.265
		GENDER * HARR_IN * TARGET * GRD	8.832E-04	1	8.832E-04	.001	.974

ANOVA[a]

			Experimental Method				
			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
RESPONSE	5-Way Interactions	BH * GENDER * HARR_IN * TARGET * GRD	1.004	5	.201	.245	.942
	Model		1336.227	95	14.066	17.150	.000
	Residual		2754.082	3358	.820		
	Total		4090.308	3453	1.185		

a. RESPONSE by BH, GENDER, HARR_IN, TARGET, GRD

MCA[a]

				Predicted Mean		Deviation	
			N	Unadjusted	Adjusted for Factors	Unadjusted	Adjusted for Factors
RESPONSE	BH	1.00	576	3.6927	3.6951	-.2769	-.2745
		2.00	575	3.1539	3.1546	-.8157	-.8150
		3.00	576	3.9627	3.9646	-6.9269E-03	-5.0E-03
		4.00	576	4.4340	4.4323	.4644	.4627
		5.00	575	4.0426	4.0412	7.301E-02	7.163E-02
		6.00	576	4.5304	4.5285	.5608	.5589
	GENDER	female	1667	4.1875	4.2032	.2179	.2336
		male	1787	3.7664	3.7517	-.2032	-.2179
	HARR_IN	NO	2848	4.0011	4.0273	3.145E-02	5.767E-02
		YES	606	3.8218	3.6986	-.1478	-.2710
	TARGET	1.00	1943	4.1799	4.1757	.2103	.2061
		2.00	1511	3.6992	3.7045	-.2704	-.2651
	GRD	1.00	1700	3.9353	3.9496	-3.4306E-02	-2.0E-02
		2.00	1754	4.0029	3.9890	3.325E-02	1.942E-02

a. RESPONSE by BH, GENDER, HARR_IN, TARGET, GRD

Factor Summary[a]

			Beta
		Eta	Adjusted for Factors
RESPONSE	BH	.424	.423
	GENDER	.193	.207
	HARR_IN	.063	.115
	TARGET	.219	.215
	GRD	.031	.018

a. RESPONSE by BH, GENDER, HARR_IN, TARGET, GRD

Model Goodness of Fit

	R	R Squared
RESPONSE by BH, GENDER, HARR_IN, TARGET, GRD	.524	.274

ANOVA

MAY 30, 1998 - ANALYSIS 5-way with means

Case Processing Summary[a]

Cases					
Included		Excluded		Total	
N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
3454	97.8%	78	2.2%	3532	100.0%

a. RESPONSE by BH, GENDER, HARR_IN, TARGET, GRD

Cell Means[b]

					RESPONSE	
BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	Mean	N
1.00	female	NO	1.00	1.00	3.9754	61
				2.00	3.9643	56
				Total	3.9701	117
			2.00	1.00	3.2692	52
				2.00	3.3421	38
				Total	3.3000	90
			Total	1.00	3.6504	113
				2.00	3.7128	94
				Total	3.6787	207
		YES	1.00	1.00	3.8000	25
				2.00	4.2381	21
				Total	4.0000	46
			2.00	1.00	3.4444	9
				2.00	3.1875	16
				Total	3.2800	25
			Total	1.00	3.7059	34
				2.00	3.7838	37
				Total	3.7465	71
		Total	1.00	1.00	3.9244	86
				2.00	4.0390	77
				Total	3.9785	163
			2.00	1.00	3.2951	61
				2.00	3.2963	54
				Total	3.2957	115
			Total	1.00	3.6633	147
				2.00	3.7328	131
				Total	3.6960	278
	male	NO	1.00	1.00	3.7472	89
				2.00	3.6786	56
				Total	3.7207	145
			2.00	1.00	3.8000	60
				2.00	3.6825	63
				Total	3.7398	123

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
1.00	male	NO	Total	1.00	3.7685	149
				2.00	3.6807	119
				Total	3.7295	268
		YES	1.00	1.00	3.0833	12
				2.00	3.5000	4
				Total	3.1875	16
			2.00	1.00	3.6000	10
				2.00	3.2500	4
				Total	3.5000	14
			Total	1.00	3.3182	22
				2.00	3.3750	8
				Total	3.3333	30
		Total	1.00	1.00	3.6683	101
				2.00	3.6667	60
				Total	3.6677	161
			2.00	1.00	3.7714	70
				2.00	3.6567	67
				Total	3.7153	137
			Total	1.00	3.7105	171
				2.00	3.6614	127
				Total	3.6896	298
	Total	NO	1.00	1.00	3.8400	150
				2.00	3.8214	112
				Total	3.8321	262
			2.00	1.00	3.5536	112
				2.00	3.5545	101
				Total	3.5540	213
			Total	1.00	3.7176	262
				2.00	3.6948	213
				Total	3.7074	475
		YES	1.00	1.00	3.5676	37
				2.00	4.1200	25
				Total	3.7903	62
			2.00	1.00	3.5263	19
				2.00	3.2000	20
				Total	3.3590	39
			Total	1.00	3.5536	56
				2.00	3.7111	45
				Total	3.6238	101
		Total	1.00	1.00	3.7861	187
				2.00	3.8759	137
				Total	3.8241	324
			2.00	1.00	3.5496	131
				2.00	3.4959	121
				Total	3.5238	252

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE	
					Mean	N
1.00	Total	Total	Total	1.00	3.6887	318
				2.00	3.6977	258
				Total	3.6927	576
2.00	female	NO	1.00	1.00	3.3385	65
				2.00	3.8333	51
				Total	3.5560	116
			2.00	1.00	3.1458	48
				2.00	3.4524	42
				Total	3.2889	90
			Total	1.00	3.2566	113
				2.00	3.6613	93
				Total	3.4393	206
		YES	1.00	1.00	3.4000	20
				2.00	3.7308	26
				Total	3.5870	46
			2.00	1.00	3.0000	10
				2.00	3.1333	15
				Total	3.0800	25
			Total	1.00	3.2667	30
				2.00	3.5122	41
				Total	3.4085	71
		Total	1.00	1.00	3.3529	85
				2.00	3.7987	77
				Total	3.5648	162
			2.00	1.00	3.1207	58
				2.00	3.3684	57
				Total	3.2435	115
			Total	1.00	3.2587	143
				2.00	3.6157	134
				Total	3.4314	277
	male	NO	1.00	1.00	3.3433	67
				2.00	3.0769	78
				Total	3.2000	145
			2.00	1.00	2.6200	50
				2.00	2.6438	73
				Total	2.6341	123
			Total	1.00	3.0342	117
				2.00	2.8675	151
				Total	2.9403	268
		YES	1.00	1.00	2.4000	10
				2.00	3.3333	6
				Total	2.7500	16
			2.00	1.00	2.0000	11
				2.00	3.0000	3
				Total	2.2143	14

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
2.00	male	YES	Total	1.00	2.1905	21
				2.00	3.2222	9
				Total	2.5000	30
		Total	1.00	1.00	3.2208	77
				2.00	3.0952	84
				Total	3.1553	161
			2.00	1.00	2.5082	61
				2.00	2.6579	76
				Total	2.5912	137
			Total	1.00	2.9058	138
				2.00	2.8875	160
				Total	2.8960	298
	Total	NO	1.00	1.00	3.3409	132
				2.00	3.3760	129
				Total	3.3582	261
			2.00	1.00	2.8776	98
				2.00	2.9391	115
				Total	2.9108	213
			Total	1.00	3.1435	230
				2.00	3.1701	244
				Total	3.1572	474
		YES	1.00	1.00	3.0667	30
				2.00	3.6563	32
				Total	3.3710	62
			2.00	1.00	2.4762	21
				2.00	3.1111	18
				Total	2.7692	39
			Total	1.00	2.8235	51
				2.00	3.4600	50
				Total	3.1386	101
		Total	1.00	1.00	3.2901	162
				2.00	3.4317	161
				Total	3.3607	323
			2.00	1.00	2.8067	119
				2.00	2.9624	133
				Total	2.8889	252
			Total	1.00	3.0854	281
				2.00	3.2194	294
				Total	3.1539	575
3.00	female	NO	1.00	1.00	4.5893	56
				2.00	4.2131	61
				Total	4.3932	117
			2.00	1.00	4.1224	49
				2.00	4.0732	41
				Total	4.1000	90

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
3.00	female	NO	Total	1.00	4.3714	105
				2.00	4.1569	102
				Total	4.2657	207
		YES	1.00	1.00	4.2759	29
				2.00	4.2353	17
				Total	4.2609	46
			2.00	1.00	3.8000	15
				2.00	3.9000	10
				Total	3.8400	25
			Total	1.00	4.1136	44
				2.00	4.1111	27
				Total	4.1127	71
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.4824	85
				2.00	4.2179	78
				Total	4.3558	163
			2.00	1.00	4.0469	64
				2.00	4.0392	51
				Total	4.0435	115
			Total	1.00	4.2953	149
				2.00	4.1473	129
				Total	4.2266	278
	male	NO	1.00	1.00	4.1603	78
				2.00	4.0896	67
				Total	4.1276	145
			2.00	1.00	3.4571	70
				2.00	3.3396	53
				Total	3.4065	123
			Total	1.00	3.8277	148
				2.00	3.7583	120
				Total	3.7966	268
		YES	1.00	1.00	3.1818	11
				2.00	3.8000	5
				Total	3.3750	16
			2.00	1.00	2.5000	4
				2.00	2.6000	10
				Total	2.5714	14
			Total	1.00	3.0000	15
				2.00	3.0000	15
				Total	3.0000	30
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.0393	89
				2.00	4.0694	72
				Total	4.0528	161
			2.00	1.00	3.4054	74
				2.00	3.2222	63
				Total	3.3212	137

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
3.00	male	Total	Total	1.00	3.7515	163
				2.00	3.6741	135
				Total	3.7164	298
	Total	NO	1.00	1.00	4.3396	134
				2.00	4.1484	128
				Total	4.2462	262
			2.00	1.00	3.7311	119
				2.00	3.6596	94
				Total	3.6995	213
			Total	1.00	4.0534	253
				2.00	3.9414	222
				Total	4.0011	475
		YES	1.00	1.00	3.9750	40
				2.00	4.1364	22
				Total	4.0323	62
			2.00	1.00	3.5263	19
				2.00	3.2500	20
				Total	3.3846	39
			Total	1.00	3.8305	59
				2.00	3.7143	42
				Total	3.7822	101
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.2557	174
				2.00	4.1467	150
				Total	4.2052	324
			2.00	1.00	3.7029	138
				2.00	3.5877	114
				Total	3.6508	252
			Total	1.00	4.0112	312
				2.00	3.9053	264
				Total	3.9627	576
4.00	female	NO	1.00	1.00	4.8571	56
				2.00	4.7869	61
				Total	4.8205	117
			2.00	1.00	4.6842	38
				2.00	4.5192	52
				Total	4.5889	90
			Total	1.00	4.7872	94
				2.00	4.6637	113
				Total	4.7198	207
		YES	1.00	1.00	4.8095	21
				2.00	4.7200	25
				Total	4.7609	46
			2.00	1.00	4.3125	16
				2.00	4.6667	9
				Total	4.4400	25

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
4.00	female	YES	Total	1.00	4.5946	37
				2.00	4.7059	34
				Total	4.6479	71
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.8442	77
				2.00	4.7674	86
				Total	4.8037	163
			2.00	1.00	4.5741	54
				2.00	4.5410	61
				Total	4.5565	115
			Total	1.00	4.7328	131
				2.00	4.6735	147
				Total	4.7014	278
	male	NO	1.00	1.00	4.6071	56
				2.00	4.5618	89
				Total	4.5793	145
			2.00	1.00	3.8889	63
				2.00	3.9833	60
				Total	3.9350	123
			Total	1.00	4.2269	119
				2.00	4.3289	149
				Total	4.2836	268
		YES	1.00	1.00	4.2500	4
				2.00	3.4167	12
				Total	3.6250	16
			2.00	1.00	2.7500	4
				2.00	3.0000	10
				Total	2.9286	14
			Total	1.00	3.5000	8
				2.00	3.2273	22
				Total	3.3000	30
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.5833	60
				2.00	4.4257	101
				Total	4.4845	161
			2.00	1.00	3.8209	67
				2.00	3.8429	70
				Total	3.8321	137
			Total	1.00	4.1811	127
				2.00	4.1871	171
				Total	4.1846	298
	Total	NO	1.00	1.00	4.7321	112
				2.00	4.6533	150
				Total	4.6870	262
			2.00	1.00	4.1881	101
				2.00	4.2321	112
				Total	4.2113	213

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
4.00	Total	NO	Total	1.00	4.4742	213
				2.00	4.4733	262
				Total	4.4737	475
		YES	1.00	1.00	4.7200	25
				2.00	4.2973	37
				Total	4.4677	62
			2.00	1.00	4.0000	20
				2.00	3.7895	19
				Total	3.8974	39
			Total	1.00	4.4000	45
				2.00	4.1250	56
				Total	4.2475	101
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.7299	137
				2.00	4.5829	187
				Total	4.6451	324
			2.00	1.00	4.1570	121
				2.00	4.1679	131
				Total	4.1627	252
			Total	1.00	4.4612	258
				2.00	4.4119	318
				Total	4.4340	576
5.00	female	NO	1.00	1.00	4.3871	62
				2.00	4.3727	55
				Total	4.3803	117
			2.00	1.00	4.0000	51
				2.00	4.3590	39
				Total	4.1556	90
			Total	1.00	4.2124	113
				2.00	4.3670	94
				Total	4.2826	207
		YES	1.00	1.00	4.1429	21
				2.00	4.1600	25
				Total	4.1522	46
			2.00	1.00	4.2857	14
				2.00	3.9091	11
				Total	4.1200	25
			Total	1.00	4.2000	35
				2.00	4.0833	36
				Total	4.1408	71
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.3253	83
				2.00	4.3063	80
				Total	4.3160	163
			2.00	1.00	4.0615	65
				2.00	4.2600	50
				Total	4.1478	115

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
5.00	female	Total	Total	1.00	4.2095	148
				2.00	4.2885	130
				Total	4.2464	278
	male	NO	1.00	1.00	4.4833	60
				2.00	4.2824	85
				Total	4.3655	145
			2.00	1.00	3.3529	51
				2.00	3.4930	71
				Total	3.4344	122
			Total	1.00	3.9640	111
				2.00	3.9231	156
				Total	3.9401	267
		YES	1.00	1.00	2.7778	9
				2.00	3.8571	7
				Total	3.2500	16
			2.00	1.00	2.1667	6
				2.00	3.3750	8
				Total	2.8571	14
			Total	1.00	2.5333	15
				2.00	3.6000	15
				Total	3.0667	30
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.2609	69
				2.00	4.2500	92
				Total	4.2547	161
			2.00	1.00	3.2281	57
				2.00	3.4810	79
				Total	3.3750	136
			Total	1.00	3.7937	126
				2.00	3.8947	171
				Total	3.8519	297
	Total	NO	1.00	1.00	4.4344	122
				2.00	4.3179	140
				Total	4.3721	262
			2.00	1.00	3.6765	102
				2.00	3.8000	110
				Total	3.7406	212
			Total	1.00	4.0893	224
				2.00	4.0900	250
				Total	4.0897	474
		YES	1.00	1.00	3.7333	30
				2.00	4.0938	32
				Total	3.9194	62
			2.00	1.00	3.6500	20
				2.00	3.6842	19
				Total	3.6667	39

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
5.00	Total	YES	Total	1.00	3.7000	50
				2.00	3.9412	51
				Total	3.8218	101
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.2961	152
				2.00	4.2762	172
				Total	4.2855	324
			2.00	1.00	3.6721	122
				2.00	3.7829	129
				Total	3.7291	251
			Total	1.00	4.0182	274
				2.00	4.0648	301
				Total	4.0426	575
6.00	female	NO	1.00	1.00	4.9310	58
				2.00	4.9661	59
				Total	4.9487	117
			2.00	1.00	4.5909	44
				2.00	4.8696	46
				Total	4.7333	90
			Total	1.00	4.7843	102
				2.00	4.9238	105
				Total	4.8551	207
		YES	1.00	1.00	4.8333	18
				2.00	4.7857	28
				Total	4.8043	46
			2.00	1.00	4.5000	14
				2.00	4.6364	11
				Total	4.5600	25
			Total	1.00	4.6875	32
				2.00	4.7436	39
				Total	4.7183	71
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.9079	76
				2.00	4.9080	87
				Total	4.9080	163
			2.00	1.00	4.5690	58
				2.00	4.8246	57
				Total	4.6957	115
			Total	1.00	4.7612	134
				2.00	4.8750	144
				Total	4.8201	278
	male	NO	1.00	1.00	4.7167	60
				2.00	4.6941	85
				Total	4.7034	145
			2.00	1.00	3.7500	54
				2.00	4.1159	69
				Total	3.9553	123

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
6.00	male	NO	Total	1.00	4.2588	114
				2.00	4.4351	154
				Total	4.3601	268
		YES	1.00	1.00	2.7500	4
				2.00	4.0000	12
				Total	3.6875	16
			2.00	1.00	2.4000	5
				2.00	3.3333	9
				Total	3.0000	14
			Total	1.00	2.5556	9
				2.00	3.7143	21
				Total	3.3667	30
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.5938	64
				2.00	4.6082	97
				Total	4.6025	161
			2.00	1.00	3.6356	59
				2.00	4.0256	78
				Total	3.8577	137
			Total	1.00	4.1341	123
				2.00	4.3486	175
				Total	4.2601	298
	Total	NO	1.00	1.00	4.8220	118
				2.00	4.8056	144
				Total	4.8130	262
			2.00	1.00	4.1276	98
				2.00	4.4174	115
				Total	4.2840	213
			Total	1.00	4.5069	216
				2.00	4.6332	259
				Total	4.5758	475
		YES	1.00	1.00	4.4545	22
				2.00	4.5500	40
				Total	4.5161	62
			2.00	1.00	3.9474	19
				2.00	4.0500	20
				Total	4.0000	39
			Total	1.00	4.2195	41
				2.00	4.3833	60
				Total	4.3168	101
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.7643	140
				2.00	4.7500	184
				Total	4.7562	324
			2.00	1.00	4.0983	117
				2.00	4.3630	135
				Total	4.2401	252

Cell Means[b]

BH	GENDER	HARR_IN	TARGET	GRD	RESPONSE Mean	RESPONSE N
6.00	Total	Total	Total	1.00	4.4611	257
				2.00	4.5862	319
				Total	4.5304	576
Total	female	NO	1.00	1.00	4.3198	358
				2.00	4.3732	343
				Total	4.3459	701
			2.00	1.00	3.9255	282
				2.00	4.1395	258
				Total	4.0278	540
			Total	1.00	4.1461	640
				2.00	4.2729	601
				Total	4.2075	1241
		YES	1.00	1.00	4.1940	134
				2.00	4.3239	142
				Total	4.2609	276
			2.00	1.00	3.9744	78
				2.00	3.7917	72
				Total	3.8867	150
			Total	1.00	4.1132	212
				2.00	4.1449	214
				Total	4.1291	426
		Total	1.00	1.00	4.2856	492
				2.00	4.3588	485
				Total	4.3219	977
			2.00	1.00	3.9361	360
				2.00	4.0636	330
				Total	3.9971	690
			Total	1.00	4.1379	852
				2.00	4.2393	815
				Total	4.1875	1667
	male	NO	1.00	1.00	4.1268	410
				2.00	4.1065	460
				Total	4.1161	870
			2.00	1.00	3.5043	348
				2.00	3.5296	389
				Total	3.5176	737
			Total	1.00	3.8410	758
				2.00	3.8422	849
				Total	3.8416	1607
		YES	1.00	1.00	2.9800	50
				2.00	3.6739	46
				Total	3.3125	96
			2.00	1.00	2.6000	40
				2.00	3.0682	44
				Total	2.8452	84